PROPHECIES
AND THE PROPHETIC SPIRIT IN THE CHRISTIAN ERA

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Prophecies and the Prophetic Spirit in the Christian Era

An Historical Essay

BY

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TRANSLATED WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND APPENDICES

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Βλέποντες ψευδῆ, μαντευόμενοι μάταια, οἱ λέγοντες· Τάδε λέγει Κύριος, καὶ ὁ Κύριος οὐκ ἀπέσταλκεν αὐτούς.—*Ezek.* xiii. 6.

INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

ABERGLAUBE, or extra-belief, we have lately been reminded, is the poetry of life. "That "men should, by help of their imagination, take "short cuts to what they ardently desire, whether "the triumph of Israel or the triumph of Chris- "tianity, should tell themselves fairy tales about it, "should make these fairy tales the basis of what "is far more sure and solid than the fairy tales, "the desire itself, — all this has in it, we repeat, "nothing which is not natural, nothing blame- "able. Nay, the region of our hopes and pre- "sentiments extends far beyond the region of "what we can know with certainty. What we "reach by hope and presentiment may yet be "true, and he would be a narrow reasoner who "denied, for instance, all validity to the idea of "immortality, because this idea rests on presenti- "ment mainly, and does not admit of certain "demonstration. In religion, above all, extra- "belief is in itself no matter, assuredly, for blame. "The object of religion is conduct; and if a man "helps himself in his conduct by taking an object

" of hope and presentiment as if it were an object " of certainty, he may even be said to gain thereby " an advantage." *

Just as the world sees many instances of men who, like Rienzi and Arnold of Brescia, *ont pris les souvenirs pour les espérances*, so also it sees many who mistake hopes and longings for possibilities and facts. Whether or no that is in any sense true of the Prophets of the Old and New Testament, it most assuredly is literally true of many of the so-called Prophets of the Middle Ages. " By the help of their imagination, they took " short cuts to what they ardently desired," or greatly dreaded, whether the reform of the Church or the recovery of Jerusalem, the destruction of Rome or the end of the world. So far as they were honest and believed in themselves, they fancied that they were gazing through a window, open to them alone, into the secrets of a not far distant future, while they were really looking into a fantastic mirror which reflected, not the future, but a real or imaginary past. What lay before them was really a blank; they had not the critical power to form a reasonable conjecture; but their minds, charged to overflowing with the memories of the past, saw them again in front. *Ils ont pris les souvenirs pour les espérances.*

The contrast which strikes us in comparing the

[1] MATTHEW ARNOLD, *Literature and Dogma*, pp. 107, 108. London, 1873.

bulk of these mediæval prophecies with those of Holy Scripture, is very similar to that which exists between the false and the true gospels, or again between the miracles of Christ, of His Apostles and Prophets, and the majority of those attributed to saints in later ages. Contrast the Child Jesus in the midst of the Doctors, astonishing them by His understanding and answers, and the caricature of Him causing birds and beasts of clay to fly and skip, in order to surpass His playmates. Or, again, compare the deaths of Ananias and his wife with the food stolen from a parent to give in charity, and then turned into roses in order to conceal the theft and the consequent lie; or the removal of Peter's chains with the removal of the House of Loretto. On the one side grotesqueness, caprice, want of ethical purpose; on the other, dignity, solemnity, a beneficent aim: fantastic or vain-glorious exhibitions of power, sometimes even to gratify passion or support an immoral cause, instead of manifestations of glory and love, given in order that men might not only wonder and fear, but love and adore.[1] Much such a difference is obvious between the prophetic books of the Bible and the would-be prophecies of later centuries; between Isaiah and Jeremiah and the *Commentaries* on them, which bear the name of

[1] Cf. Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 448. Macmillan, 1867; Trench, *Notes on the Miracles*, p. 50. Macmillan, 1866; Mozley, *Bampton Lectures*, viii., Rivingtons, 1865.

Joachim; between the *Apocalypse* of S. John and the *Revelations*, which bear the name of Methodius. Here again we have the unmistakeable contrast between what is divine, spontaneous, and disinterested, and what is the result of human elaboration, calculation, and deceit. Where these attempts at prophecy are not monstrous and absurd or demonstrably false, they commonly have a ring of spuriousness which perhaps can more easily be felt than defined, or at any rate they are lacking in the clear-sounding ring of truth and simplicity.

These "lying divinations" are by no means valueless. They are no mere literary curiosities. Many of them throw considerable light on the history of the time; they reflect the thoughts and feelings of the age, its memories, hopes, and fears. Nor is this all. Here again, as ever, the beauty and sublimity of the true is set forth in stronger light by the grotesqueness and meanness of the false. These show us what manner of promises, and threats, and predictions were the result, when men drew from their own imaginations and devised futures of their own, and rewards and punishments of their own, for themselves and their fellow-men. They show us how no mere human ingenuity, no fraud, however "pious," could have produced such majesty of language and tone (to leave the matter out of the question altogether), as delights us in the Prophets of the Old Covenant. The argument is

similar to that lately used to prove the trustworthiness of the Fourth Gospel. "The doctrine and dis- "courses *cannot* in the main be the writer's, because "in the main they are clearly out of his reach."[1]

Another point of similarity between the miracles and the prophecies of the Middle Ages remains to be noticed. It is allowed by all critics and historians, whatever their religion and predilections, that mediæval history contains a vast mass of miracles, so also of prophecies, which are spurious and fictitious,—"so vast indeed, that those who wish "to claim credence for some particular ones, or "who, without mentioning particular ones, argue "that some or other out of the whole body may "have been true, still abandon the great body as "indefensible." The difficulty of defending *any*, however few, is consequently great. In the bulk of their testimony the witnesses can be *proved* to have countenanced falsehood: are they to be believed where it is possible that they may be telling the truth? Possible, because there is no direct evidence to the contrary: for in a discussion of this kind it seems right to start with the hypothesis that miracles, especially miraculous predictions of future events, are not antecedently impossible. To start with a ready-made axiom, that the supernatural (*i. e.* what seems to be such to us) is *à priori* inadmissible, is to beg the whole question at the

[1] *Literature and Dogma*, p. 170.

outset. What we have to inquire in each case is, whether the amount of evidence in favour of the prediction is such as to outweigh the antecedent improbability. We must inquire—to quote the well-known canon laid down by Davison—whether the prediction be known to have been promulgated before the event; whether the event be such as could not have been foreseen, when it was predicted, by any effort of human reason; whether the event and the prediction correspond together in a clear accomplishment. There are prophecies in Scripture which can stand this threefold test. The early promulgation, the supernatural foreknowledge, the manifest fulfilment, have been fully ascertained. Can as much be said for any of the prophetic utterances in the Middle Ages? The conclusion arrived at in the Essay which follows is, that this question should probably be answered in the negative. Either the supposed prophecy was published after the event, as in the case of the Joachimite *Commentaries*, and of the greater part of the Prophecies of Malachias and of Hermann of Lehnin; or else the prediction is nothing more than the result of great human foresight, as possibly the predictions of Savonarola; or else there is no real[1] correspondence between the prediction

[1] There will, of course, now and then be remarkable coincidences, *e. g.* in the case of the great plague in Milan, in 1630, which had been foretold by the astrologers. A large comet had appeared in 1628. Some prophesied war, others famine; but most, judging from its pale

and the event, as in the case of the latter part of the two famous Prophecies mentioned above.

The argument against mediæval miracles as contrasted with those of the Bible, so ably stated by Canon Mozley in his eighth Bampton Lecture, is to a very great extent parallel to that urged here and in the Essay against the credibility of mediæval prophecies ; so much so that it may be worth while, *mutatis mutandis*, to summarize it.

(1.) The grotesque and extravagant form, and (2.) the unworthy objects aimed at, have been already noticed. (3.) The absence of contemporary testimony must in many cases be taken into consideration. That the Prophets and Christ Himself predicted His passion and death and resurrection, and that He actually suffered and died and rose again, are facts attested by contemporary witnesses, and can only be impugned at the peril of invalidating all historical evidence, and involving our whole knowledge of the past in doubt.[1] Very few

colour, predicted pestilence, and won for themselves great credit thereby, like those who had preferred λοιμός to λιμός as the wording in the old Athenian prophecy, Thuc. II., 54. Even the almanac-prophets made great hits sometimes.

[1] Nor is this position much weakened by the fact of an occasional mistranslation in our Version, or of an occasional misinterpretation by the commentators. It may be that "until Shiloh come" should run "so long as the people resort to the sanctuary," and that "kiss the Son" is in reality "Be instructed;" or, what is less easy to believe, that "the Branch" in Jeremiah is wrongly identified with Christ;—still there remains an immense amount of Messianic prophecy, of which it is impossible to dispose in this way, and that remainder is sufficient for the argument.

of these later prophecies fulfil even this preliminary condition of credibility.

But this condition satisfied, we have to consider (4.) the character of the witnesses. The characteristic needed is a keen sense and love of truth. Truth is a yoke. To have facts against us is a trial—a trial against which we are constantly disposed to rebel; and this rebellion is easily put into action by representing facts as we wish them to be rather than as they are. The simplicity, the balance and moderation of the Apostolic character, is a sufficient guarantee against any such rebellion in their case. But along with all that is splendid and admirable in the Church of a later age, there appear an ambition and an exaggeration of character, which in themselves are a falling away from strict moral truth, and must detract something from the credibility of witnesses exhibiting such traits.

(5.) The very greatness of their cause was a considerable guarantee for the truthfulness of the Prophets and Apostles. Its aim was to renovate mankind, sunk in the deepest corruption; one of those great undertakings which react upon the minds of those engaged in it, and raise them above insincerity and extravagance. This can scarcely be said of most of the causes, in the furtherance of which these later prophecies were enlisted. Questionable if not spurious developments of Christian

doctrine and discipline, to say nothing of merely political and those perhaps immoral ends, give but small guarantee for the truthfulness of their promoters. Let the human intellect once begin to busy itself with ignoble, or even with magnificent schemes in politics, with false or at least doubtful deductions from Christian principles, nay, even with true but minute and remote ones, and the spirit and temper of the Prophets and Apostles is soon exchanged for something very different. Political ambition and religious propagandism have not a reputation for truthfulness.

(6.) Lastly, these would-be Prophets of a later age in many cases uttered their predictions without risk or penalty. True, that not a few of them, like the Prophets and Apostles of old, went about with their lives in their hands, and sometimes most intrepidly lost them. That at least is a test of their sincerity. But it was not so with all. And in no case can the mere willingness to suffer for a doctrine or a cause be considered as in itself a sufficient proof of its truth or of its righteousness.

A consideration of the line of argument briefly stated above will probably lead most thinking persons to acquiesce in the weighty opinion of Bacon respecting these so-called prophecies. His Essay on the subject concludes with these words: "My "Judgement is, that they ought all to be *Despised*;

"And ought to serve, but for Winter Talke, by the "Fire side. Though when I say *Despised*, I meane "it as for Beleefe: for otherwise, the Spreading or "Publishing of them, is in no sort to be *Despised*. "For they have done much mischiefe:[1] and I see "many severe Lawes made to suppresse them. "That, that hath given them Grace, and some "credit, consisteth in three Things. First, that "men marke, when they hit, and never marke, "when they misse: As they doe, generally, also of "*Dreames*. The second is, that Probable Conjec- "tures, or obscure Traditions, many times, turne "themselves into *Prophecies:* While the Nature of "Man, which coveteth *Divination*, thinkes it no "Perill to foretell that, which indeed they doe but "collect. . . . The third, and Last (which is the "Great one) is, that almost all of them, being "infinite in number, have beene Impostures, and "by idle and craftie Braines, merely contrived and "faigned, after the Event Past."

The prophecies of the Old and New Testament, then, lend no authority to the attempts at prophetic

[1] Bacon's father might have told him how in his boyhood the astrologers had predicted that on Feb. 1st, 1524, the Thames would flood the whole of London and wash away 10,000 houses. They were implicitly believed. By the middle of January 20,000 persons of all classes had quitted the city with all their belongings. The Thames flowed on as usual till the fatal day was passed; and the astrologers saved their profession from contempt and their persons from violence by saying that they had made a miscalculation of a century!

utterance in later times, except as showing that genuine prediction, far exceeding the limits of mere human sagacity, has actually taken place. But, it may be asked, must not the discredit, which rightly attaches itself to these latter productions, necessarily be reflected upon the whole body of prophecy? These are nearer to our own day: we know more about the circumstances which gave occasion to them; in many cases we can not merely demonstrate that the whole is a fiction, but can also trace out the exact process of its formation. If we knew as much about the prophecies to which Christians are accustomed to appeal, should we not find very much the same phenomena? Does not this exposure of the so-called Prophecies of Merlin and the Sibyl, of Cyril and of Telesphorus, justify us in saying, "Now we know how prophecies grow or are "made; this is the way in which the books of "Isaiah and Zechariah came into existence, only "the evidence of the process has in their case "become obscured"?

A natural and perhaps not unattractive argument, but scarcely a very solid one. Hypocrisy, one is told, is the tribute which vice pays to virtue; and the existence of hypocrisy is some evidence of the existence of virtue. So also the fact of false prophecies is some evidence of the reality of true ones. It is conceivable, of course, that all virtue is a sham, and that all predictions are a fiction, but

the balance of probability is the other way. The false prophecies do not discredit the true any more than the spuriousness of the Letters of Plato discredits the authenticity of the Dialogues of Plato; nor *so much* as the monstrous proceedings and results of the Council of the Vatican discredit the proceedings and results of the Council of Nicæa. But the enormous differences, pointed out already between the prophecies of the Middle Ages and those of Scripture, are sufficient answer to this sort of argument. In the case of products differing so widely in kind, it would be great rashness to argue from the mode of production in one case to the mode of production in the other.

Attempts to lift the veil, which hides from us the future and the other world, are not peculiar to any age or religion. They belong to human nature. It is inevitable that man should have a passionate craving to know something of that which is in store for him hereafter, of that which lies on the other side of the grave. This innate and reasonable longing is legitimately gratified by revelation. But there is a similar longing which is *not* reasonable, but is bred of curiosity, and the love of what is marvellous and sensational. It is this morbid craving, never absent from human character in the aggregate at any period of its history, which has produced endless pretensions to

the prophetic gift, and to the power to communicate with the unseen world. It is the nemesis[1] which, by a natural reaction, comes upon those nations or individuals, who have from the first rejected, or have afterwards discarded, the legitimate means of gratifying this innate longing.

It is vain to say, be content with the present. Man needs something to believe as well as something to see; and, in proportion as faith in an imperfect but sufficient revelation of the future is refused admittance, or allowed to fade away, the ground is clear for a substitute, however miserable. *ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία.* Man is never content with merely forsaking the fountain of living waters: he ever goes on to hew himself out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water. Israel, having cast off Jehovah and slain the Prophets, took to idols, soothsayers, and necromancers. Greece and Rome, having learnt from Epicurus to banish the gods, and from Lucian to laugh at them, became the eager dupes of the miracle-monger, the augur, and the astrologer. Julian discarded Christianity, and believed in magic. The freethinkers of the French Revolution, who followed in his footsteps, rejected the Prophets and Apostles as

[1] See a sermon on *the Nemesis of Unbelief*, preached before the University of Oxford, Nov. 18th, 1866, by JOHN JACKSON, Bishop of Lincoln.

liars and fools, and accepted without question the impostures of Cagliostro and the Rosicrucians. Nor can our own age afford to throw stones. While our criticism is far too rigorous and searching to leave a vestige of revelation undemolished, we swallow with gaping mouth the spiritual communications of "Mr. Sludge the medium."

For the ordinary reader, therefore, for the student of history, and for the theologian, this essay on *Prophecies and the Prophetic Spirit in the Christian Era* will be found to contain material of great interest and value. It is hoped that the notes and references, given by the author, and augmented by the translator, will be of some assistance to those who may wish to investigate the subject more fully for themselves.

A. P.

Oxford,
October, 1873.

This translation has been undertaken with the express sanction of the author.

The translator is responsible for all that appears between square brackets, thus [ ], for the table of contents, the italics, and the insertions in the margin.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE translation of a work by Dr. Döllinger scarcely needs apology. The present writer was encouraged to undertake a translation of this now celebrated Essay by the very favourable way in which his reproduction of the author's *Papstfabeln* has been received in England. Soon after he had finished this second work of translation, he found that he was not the first in the field. An English version of the Essay had already appeared in New York, appended to an American edition of his own translation of the *Papstfabeln*. But for the kindness of his publishers, he would probably have remained in ignorance of this reprint and enlargement of his work. He has, however, taken advantage of the opportunity thus offered, and by a comparison of his own translation with that of Dr. Henry B. Smith,[1] has been able to correct one or two small errors, which would probably otherwise have escaped his notice.

The original of the Essay, *Der Weissagungsglaube und das Prophetenthum in der christlichen*

[1] Professor in Union Theological Seminary, N.Y.

Zeit, appeared in 1871 in the new series of Von Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*. Dr. Döllinger intended to supplement it with an essay on Dante as a Prophet, but the press of other work has up to the present time prevented him from fulfilling his intention. The crisis in the Roman Church, which now engrosses all his energy, coupled with his advanced age, renders it only too doubtful whether this second Essay on mediæval prophecy will ever see the light. Meanwhile the present instalment, complete in itself, and exhibiting the author's characteristic clearness, thoroughness, and profound learning, will be read with gratitude by all students of history, and with interest by very many more.

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PROPHECIES
AND THE PROPHETIC SPIRIT
IN THE CHRISTIAN ERA

I

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

THE character of prophetic utterance in the ancient world was national and patriotic, but for that very reason was confined in its aim to the life of the nation and the conduct of war. There was no thought of a far-seeing view into a distant future. No doubt the Roman Empire exhibited a vast community, uniting together many and various nations, in fact, an Orbis Romanus. But in this Empire people were content with the prophetic announcement, that an unending duration was decreed to it, and beyond this the imperial period produced nothing in the way of prophecy, except, perhaps, vaticinations respecting the life and death of individual Emperors.

Limited nature of prophecy in the ancient world.

With the introduction of Christianity all this was changed. Forthwith, both the horizon of man's vision was enlarged, and also his sympathy with the destinies of nations, who, in becoming

Christianity, by enlarging men's sympathies, enlarged the field of prophecy.

confessors of the same creed, had also become members of one and the same vast Church.

Nationalities now have a double existence :— 1. their own ; 2. their part in the great Christian Commonwealth.

From this time forward the destiny of the great nations, who were the representatives of culture and of history, was inseparably united with the progressive development and destinies of the Church universal. And each of these nations lives, so to say, a double life,—its national life, moving in a circle of ideas peculiar to itself; and also a second life, by virtue of which each of the leading peoples of Christendom fulfils the mission assigned to it in the great Christian community. Thus it was that, in the Middle Ages, Germans, French, and Italians, had the conviction, that to each of them a special function and grace had been apportioned, that each was a representative of one of the three great Christian institutions,—the Empire, the Priesthood, and the School.

Four kinds of predictions in Christian times :— 1. religious, 2. dynastic, 3. national, 4. cosmopolitan.

A closer view of the prophetic material to be found in Christian times will at once show us that we must distinguish four kinds of predictions. We find, that is to say, over and above the purely *religious* prophecies, *dynastic*, and also *national* ones, besides a fourth class, which we may call *cosmopolitan*. Under the last-named head are reckoned those which have reference to the Christian Church; for since the institution of Christianity, the history and vicissitudes of the Church have been connected in the closest possible way with the great progerssive development of

the whole human race. That is to say,—predictions respecting the Church are wont to have reference either to a schism that is imminent, or to the healing of a division already existing, or to the judicial punishment of the state of corruption which had arisen and was most painfully felt in the Church. Accordingly these predictions foretell, may be, a vast and longed-for reformation of the Church, or else a reunion of the separated portions of the Christian world. Individual monarchs or whole nations are then pointed out as the specially chosen instruments of these ecclesiastical changes. Or else such a change is represented as at the same time the cause of social and political catastrophes and revolutions; and accordingly events are foretold which belong sometimes to the province of politics, sometimes to that of ecclesiastical affairs, sometimes equally to both. Hence prophecies which have direct reference to the condition of the human race, or to the destinies of the great civilized nations, have always a religious side as well; and, on the other hand, it was impossible to foretell important and far-reaching events and revolutions in the province of religion, without at the same time setting forth correspondingly new phenomena in politics, related to the former as effect to cause.

In these predictions religion and politics are closely interwoven.

Prophecies, therefore, since the coming of Christ, betray a threefold origin. First, they arise as the spontaneously generated product of a certain con-

Threefold origin of prophecies in the Christian era :—

1. spontaneous.

2. interested.

3. conjectural.

4. Illustrations.

dition of things and of public feeling, without any defined object, without the definite or conscious authorship of any individual person. There are, however, also abundance of others, which have elements of deliberate creation, and which are intended to serve some altogether special interest. Lastly, there are a third class of prophecies, which at first are only the conjectures or the sympathetic views of a man, who, starting from a right comprehension of the present, and following the laws of causal connection, draws conclusions with regard to the phenomena of a future age, and boldly predicts them as facts. These are then stamped by the result as prophetic announcements.

A few examples will make clear and confirm this conception and division.

Just as the historian is a prophet looking back instead of forwards, so also a prophet is very frequently only a historian looking forwards instead of back, predicting, as future, events which have already taken place. This is especially the case when facts, which really belong to the past, come to be believed as future, as, for example, in the well-known Lehnin prophecy.[1] But the same thing also happens, when, under the protecting form of a prophecy, censure is openly passed on a monarch, or on a government, or on the condition of things in the Church, when a warning is given and an attempt made to turn the destinies

[1] [See Appendix A.]

of a state in a particular direction. An example of this kind is the song on the Government of Edward III., under the name of JOHN OF BRIDLINGTON (composed about A.D. 1370), with a gloss in prose, in which the author clothes what he dared not utter openly and without disguise, viz., a rebuke of the infamous coterie of prostitutes and other scandalous facts, in the garb of prophecy.[1]

The song of John of Bridlington.

In more modern days also, no less than in old times, it has been well understood, that a prophecy can be made a very effective instrument in politics, and that a circumstance, for the occurrence of which people are desirous, can be all the more easily realized, if it be predicted beforehand. When QUEEN CHRISTINE wished to become Queen of Poland, she gave orders that a prophecy having reference to that object should be judiciously cir-

Queen Christine and the Crown of Poland.

[1] *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History*, edited by THOMAS WRIGHT. London, 1859. Vol. I. [pp. 123–215. The piece is a political retrospect of the reign of Edward III., compiled in the form of a supposed old text and a recent commentary,—a form not altogether unknown in modern times. In some MSS. the poem is nameless; but in the copy in the Bodleian Library (MS. Digby, No. 89) the text is said to be the prophecy of John of Bridlington. The name is probably fictitious, and, of course, both text and commentary are by the same hand. The tract is dedicated to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Constable of England. This fact fixes the date tolerably exactly. Humphrey de Bohun succeeded to the title in 1361 and died in 1372. A few lines may be worth quoting as a specimen:—

"Rex insensatus est bellis undique stratus;
"Nobilis est natus, qui dicitur infatuatus.
"Nam perdet gentem regni pro jure loquentem,
"Ac optimates nullus reddet sibi grates.
"Perdet cognatos, pendere sinet veneratos.
"Rex pietate carens Christo non fit bene parens;
"Regnans perdetur, quia gentis non miseretur."—Cap. ij.]

Cromwell's almanachs.

culated by a monk.[1] CROMWELL caused events, which he intended to bring about, to be inserted in the almanach beforehand, and the astrologer in consequence acquired a high reputation. When

Quaker's letter in support of William III.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE and his party in England had determined on the overthrow of King James II., there appeared (in March, 1688) a printed letter, supposed to be written by a Quaker, in which it was announced that the Holy Spirit had revealed to an illuminated member of the Society of Friends, that in the following October a great change would take place in this kingdom, and in the month following William would come hither from over the sea.[2] The prophet made an error only of about a couple of weeks; otherwise all fitted exactly. As early as the thirteenth century this artifice was applied with good results. When the Popes had determined utterly to overthrow the imperial House of Hohenstaufen, and to allow none of its scions in future to obtain either the German or the Spanish crown, there appeared in Italy, in the year 1256, a prophecy, written in Latin verse, under the name of a CARDINAL ALBIUS—probably the Cardinal-Bishop of Albano. In this, after a general description of an age of anarchy and of tyranny over the Church, it is predicted, that suddenly and unexpectedly a Deliverer will appear

So-called prophecy of Cardinal Albius.

[1] "Vous pourriez aussi écrire au Frère (N. N.) qu'il publie adroite-" ment la prophétie," one reads in a letter of hers of the year 1669 in ARKENHOLZ, *Mémoires concernant Christine*, III., 380.

[2] BAYLE, *Œuvres*, III., 249.

in the person of a new King, who shall subdue the South to the glorification of the Mother, that is, of the See of Rome, shall utterly crush the Sicilians and the family of Frederick, and bring to nought all the works of the Emperor Frederick, of his sons, and of his followers. Besides this he shall also make the rebellious people of Rome bow their necks under the yoke of the Pope. In short, he shall accomplish all those things which the papal court at that time desired and needed. The whole had the ring of a programme, written in a poetical strain, for the negotiations respecting the crown of Sicily, which Alexander IV. was at that time secretly carrying on with Prince Edmund of England, and was intended to prepare the way for the victorious success of the latter. And in order that the Italians might not, after the manner of the country, expect rich largesses of money from the coming king, the prophecy did not forget to mention the circumstance, that the heaven-sent Deliverer will be rich indeed in virtue, but very poor in gold.[1]

Queen Basina's revelation to Childeric.

As an instance of a dynastic prophecy may be mentioned the prophetic vision, which BASINA OF THURINGIA, the mother of Clovis, revealed to her husband, the Frankish King Childeric, in the night of their bridal. At her bidding he went three times during the night outside their sleeping-

A.D. 458–481.

[1] The prophecy is printed in LAMI's additions to the *Chronicon Pontificum Leonis Urbevetani*, in his *Deliciæ Eruditorum* (1737), p. 323.

chamber. The first time he saw a lion, a unicorn, and a leopard. The second time bears and wolves were shown to him. The third time he saw dogs and smaller animals quarrelling among themselves round about. The lion, said Basina to him, is our son Clovis; his sons will be strong as leopards and
A.D. 511. unicorns. (That is Theodoric, Chlodomir, Childebert, and Clotaire.) Of them others will be begotten, who in their strength and ravenousness
A.D. 561–584. will resemble bears and wolves. (Charibert, Chilperic, and their successors down to Clotaire II.)
A.D. 656–742. Finally there come the last feeble Merovingians, in the period of anarchy, which preceded the change of dynasty. The prophecy is found as early as in a codex of FREDEGAR,[1] which reaches to the earlier part of the eighth century, and is therefore previous to the occupation of the throne, which
A.D. 752. actually followed, by the Carolingians. The intention to prepare the way for this change shines through in the ironical declaration of Basina, that

[1] [FREDEGARIUS SCHOLASTICUS. It is by no means certain that the writer who is known by this name ever bore it. In antiquity he comes next to Gregory of Tours as an authority for the history of the Franks. His valuable Chronicle reaches down to the fourth year of Clovis II., A.D. 641. But he was evidently still living at least as late as 658, for he mentions events which were subsequent to the death of Clovis II., e. g. the death of Chintasindus, King of Spain (*Chron.*, lxxxii., sub fin.). There seems to be some inconsistency in placing this author in the earlier part of the eighth century. If one does that, one must go still farther and place him, as CAVE and OUDIN do, in the second half of the eighth century. This apparently is on the assumption that the two first continuations of his work, down to 674 and 734, are by himself; which seems to be quite erroneous. The third continuation is attributed to him by no one. The story of the vision occurs in his epitome of the history of Gregory of Tours, chap. xii.]

"these kings who resemble the dogs, will be the pillars of this kingdom."[1]

Prophetic acrostic about the Tudors.

A kind of dynastic prophecy, the origin of which can be easily seen, went from mouth to mouth as a popular rhyme in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth and also under James I. It ran thus:—

"When hempe is sponne;
"England's done."[2]

The word "hempe" indicated the five sovereigns of the Tudor dynasty, Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary and her husband, Philip, and Elizabeth, because the initial letter of these five names form the word "hempe." The prophetic saying undoubtedly had its origin altogether with the people, being the outcome of the feeling, that at the death of the childless Elizabeth, either a war of succession would break out, or a foreigner,—a Scotch king,—rousing more fears than hopes, would ascend the throne.[3]

[1] ["Et tertio quæ vidisti ad discessum, columnæ regni hujus erunt: "qui regnabunt ad instar canum, et minoribus bestiis eorum consimilis "erit fortitudo."—*Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France.* Tome II., p. 397.]

[2] Lord Bacon in his Essays [ed. Aldis W. Wright. London, 1865, p. 151] says;—"whereby, it was generally conceived, that after the "Princes had Reigned, which had the Principiall Letters, of that word "Hempe, (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth) "England should come to utter confusion." In the Civil War, which, however, did not break out till more than 40 years later, one might find a fulfilment of this prophecy.

[3] [Bacon gives another interpretation to the prophecy, "which, "thankes be to God, is verified only in the change of the name: for "that the King's Stile is now no more of *England*, but of *Britaine*."]

Prophecy respecting the Popes, attributed to Joachim.

A.D. 1277–1305.

Among dynastic prophecies we may also reckon the vaticinations respecting the succession of the Popes, of which two in particular have obtained great celebrity. In the earlier years of the fourteenth century a description, under allegorical figures, of the Popes from Nicholas III. to Clement V. was put in circulation under the name of JOACHIM. In it each of these Popes was sketched in a few short, pithy words, expressing in a symbolical manner the chief events of their respective pontificates. Like the other spurious writings of Joachim, this one also proceeded from the bosom of the Franciscan Order, especially the Zealots or Spiritualists, who concealed themselves here under the name of "the Dove," which had been given to their Order. That a description like this, which depicts most of the Popes of that age in such black colours, and lays such grievous crimes to their charge,—Cœlestine V. is the only one who is judged somewhat more favourably,—and which sets them forth in the light of Church tyrants, found such strong sympathy, and was able to maintain itself in such celebrity, is a noteworthy sign of the revolution, which at that time was taking place in the feelings of the Italians. As early as in the Chronicle of the Bolognese Dominican PIPIN (in the beginning of the fourteenth century), these would-be prophetical representations and oracles were mentioned and described one by one; and less experienced hands in later times have continued

them, partly under Joachim's name, as before, partly under the fictitious name of a certain ANSELM, Bishop of Marsica. But while the earlier ones, from Nicolas III. to Clement V. (the standpoint of the author being presupposed), are appropriate and can easily be interpreted, the later ones, which were *really* composed *before* the events, lose themselves more and more in meaningless, unintelligible phrases and commonplaces. This fiction has now long since been exploded; but another one of later origin retains considerable celebrity, and is still regarded with respect by many. Altogether different from the sharp censorious tone of the Joachimite production, this one does not attempt to sketch the moral character of the Popes or their mode of administering their ecclesiastical office, but rather to designate each one of them by means of some circumstance of his life expressed in a couple of words, or else with a play upon some single event in his history. An Irish Bishop of the twelfth century, by name MALACHIAS, made well known to fame through Saint Bernard's biography of him, was selected to bear the authorship of this composition, which was made to commence with Pope Cœlestine II., in the year 1143. Down to the year 1590, or Urban VII., it either fits appropriately, or admits of a not outrageously forced explanation. It was composed in the year 1590, in order to forward the election of Cardinal Simoncelli of Orvieto, as is evident from the fact

A.D. 1277–1305.

Prophecy of Malachias.

that the successor to be given to Urban was designated by the words "De antiquitate urbis,"—Orvieto, Urbs vetus. The mottoes which refer to the succeeding Popes can for the most part be explained only by means of absurd and ridiculous interpretations. But because still from time to time one of these vaticinations seemed again to fit appropriately, they have been over and over again printed and turned to account; and to this day there are not wanting persons who believe in them. Supposing, however, that one could without much difficulty explain "peregrinus apostolicus" of Pius VI., and "crux de cruce" of Pius IX., yet certainly the "aquila rapax" of Pius VII. resisted all attempts at explanation.[1]

On the other hand there is a prophetic saying, which at the time of the Reformation exercised a powerful influence on the views of mankind, and by this means on the course of events;—a pure invention, no doubt, but nevertheless invented without any ulterior object, and having its origin in an altogether natural manner. John Hus is reported to have said at the place of execution, "This day ye are burning a *goose*" (the meaning of Hus in Bohemian); "but from my ashes will arise a swan, which ye will not be able to roast."[2] Luther,

[1] [In an article in *La Frusta* (the satirical organ of the Ultramontane party in Rome), which appeared in the summer of 1871, "aquila rapax" was explained—on the lucus a non lucendo principle—to mean that Pius VII. was the *victim* of the aquila rapax, Napoleon I.!]

[2] *Opera*, ed. Altenburg, v., 599; viii., 864; ix., 1562.

who was the first to quote this saying, and in the most express way turned it to account for himself, most certainly did not invent the story. A passage in a letter of Hus from Constance to the people of Prague gave occasion to it:—"The goose indeed, tame creature that it is, and not able to fly high, has not broken their snare, but other fowls of the air, by the help of the divine Word and of their life, will soar above in lofty flight, and will bring to nought their lying in wait."[1] And besides that, there is the fact that his friend and disciple, JEROME, actually summoned those who condemned him to appear a hundred years afterwards before the judgment-seat of God.[2]

Prophecy invented by Laharpe.

None the less is the celebrated visionary announcement of the horrors of the French Revolution by Cazotte, which LAHARPE has so dramatically related, indubitably an invention of Laharpe him-

[1] *Historia et Monumenta Johannis Hus et Hieronymi.* Nuremburg, 1715. I., 121.

[2] *Narratio de Mag. Hieronymo*, in the *Monumenta*, II., 531. [The Bishop of Lodi again preached the execution sermon, as in the case of John Hus. Taking "He reproached their unbelief and hardness of heart" for his text, he set forth with frightful plainness the proper mode of dealing with heretics. Jerome was allowed to reply. He concluded thus: "Ye are resolved to condemn me in this wicked and iniquitous "way, though ye have convicted me of no crime. But after my "death I will be in your consciences an ever-gnawing worm. I appeal "to the Supreme Judge, before Whom ye shall appear with me, ere a "hundred years are passed." DEAN MILMAN thinks that there are no sufficient grounds for doubting, as L'ENFANT is inclined to do, the authenticity of these last words. *History of Latin Christianity*, Book XIII., chap. ix., note s.

For other examples of persons prophetically summoned to appear before the judgment-seat of God, see Appendix B.]

self. But on the other hand it is true, that thirteen years before the outbreak of the Revolution, a celebrated preacher, BEAUREGARD, declared from the pulpit in Notre Dame; "The temples of God will be plundered and destroyed, His festivals abolished, His name blasphemed, His service proscribed. Yea, what hear I? What see I? In place of hymns in praise of God, lewd and profane songs will be sung here; and the heathen goddess Venus herself will dare here to take the place of the living God, to set herself on the altar, and to receive the homage of her true worshippers." All this actually came to pass some years later, and that too in the very church in which the prophetic words had been spoken. But he who knows the condition of Paris at that time, he who considers what, for instance, WALPOLE says on the subject in his letters, can easily imagine how a man like Beauregard, with a deeper insight into the abyss of the corruption of the time, might very easily announce events beforehand, just as they afterwards came to light;—manifestations of a spirit, which had already for a long period of time been working, although at first for the most part only in silence.

Beauregard's prediction of the French Revolution.

II

THE PROPHETIC INSTINCT OF THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

EXPECTATION OF THE COMING OF ANTICHRIST AND OF THE END OF THE WORLD

Mediæval prophecies to be studied in the light of primitive Christianity.

IN order to gain a just conception of the half religious, half political prophecies of the Middle Ages in their essential features, we must go back to the early times of the Church.

Jewish "sibylline" books,

The first Christians entered on an inheritance, which came down to them from the Hellenic culture of the Alexandrine Jews. For these had at an early age composed sibylline predictions, which set forth to view the final victory of Judaism over Heathenism, and the exaltation of the former to be the religion of the world. Jewish[1] sibylline books or fragments of this kind were spread abroad, partly in the last century before Christ, partly in

[1] [Cf. WESTCOTT's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, 1867, p. 74.]

the first and second century of the Christian era; and then, a little later, Christian ones also came to be added, which were partially recognized by the heathen and by a section of Christians, who took these effusions under their protection, or availed themselves of them as true and original witnesses, giving them the name of "sibylline," as, for example, did the philosopher Celsus. It appeared, however, to the Roman statesman, to be by no means a matter of small moment, that expectations of an approaching dissolution of the Roman Empire and of the utter overthrow of the state religion should be spread abroad in this way. They forbad the reading of these books, or "leaves," on pain of death.

proscribed by Roman Statesmen.

So long as the Roman Empire remained in existence in the West, up to the time of the immigration of the barbarians, no field presented itself for the spontaneous appearance of prophecy. The ideas of the Christian world with reference to things to come were from first to last under the influence of their prophetical book, the *Apocalypse*. While, on the one hand, the pagan Romans maintained that a continuance without end was secured to their Empire, and the eternity of Rome was, so to speak, an official dogma, on the other hand, the Christians were convinced that Rome, drunk with the blood of the martyrs, must fall, the temporal power of Rome must come to nought. Accordingly, all that assumed the character of prophecy among these

Influence of the Apocalypse on Christian predictions.

Conviction that Rome must fall.

early Christians had reference primarily to this expected ruin of the Roman Empire, and for interpretation or closer statement of detail resorted to the prophetical book. That out of the ruins of the Empire a new Christian dispensation, a cycle of Christian Empires would arise,—of that the Christians of those early centuries had no notion. They were not in a position to look out beyond the horizon of Roman affairs, and anticipate the still slumbering strength of the barbarous nations, which to them seemed to be mere powers and instruments of destruction. Hence it was that they held to the belief that, with the downfall of the Roman Empire, there would also come an end of the present dispensation of the world, or, to speak more exactly, that the beginning of the end would then commence. They maintained that it was precisely Rome and her temporal power which (because a respite was still allowed to her) still kept afar off the great catastrophe of the end of the world. "Rome—she is the city that still holds and sustains all," says LACTANTIUS. They were all the more firmly possessed by this idea, inasmuch as, by an erroneous interpretation of the passage in S. PAUL'S *Second Epistle to the Thessalonians* (ii. 8), they understood "he who letteth"—κατέχων, qui tenet—to mean the Roman Empire, the overthrow of which would be followed by the appearance of "the Man of Sin," and soon afterwards by the end of the world.

In the early Church predictions were mainly respecting Antichrist;

Hence it came to pass that in the Christian world there were, properly speaking, no prophecies of universal significance and bearing, until deep into the Middle Ages. The prophetic instincts of mankind found their satisfaction in conjectures respecting the great enemy of Christendom, whom every one was expecting,—Antichrist, who in East and West alike was thought of as a Jew and the setter up of a Jewish dominion. No doubt much was also said about the near approach of the end of the world. The formula "appropinquante mundi termino" is a familiar one in the tenth century. But the appearance of Antichrist must precede the Day of Judgment, and his dominion was to last three years and a half. Accordingly the fancy of mankind preferred to occupy itself with him; always, however, within the limits prescribed by ancient tradition. He was to be of Jewish extraction, and appear in the far East in the midst of Muhammadan surroundings, and as a triumphant warrior and conqueror was to fill the world with the terror of his name. So long then as a person, who could be represented as a Jewish prophet and powerful despot of this description, did not appear, the question of the immediate nearness of the end of the world was altogether out of place. The expectation was at times so impatient of delay, that Antichrist was declared to be already abiding in this or that place, for the present still unrevealed. Further than this, however,

later on, respecting the end of the world also.

Minuteness of detail in some

men could not go; and accordingly Antichrist, the great falling away from the faith which he was to effect, his triumph, his bloody but short-lived temporal dominion,—all this remained as an ever expected, ever dreaded, but still never appearing phenomenon, notwithstanding all the exactness and minuteness of detail with which even his route had been predicted, his acts and fate reckoned up and depicted. Forerunners and pioneers of the great dreaded One appeared in every century. That is to say, every party regularly accused their opponents of being such heralds and forerunners; but then the Lord of these servants would never anywhere show himself. From time to time it would be announced, that he was already born, or that he was now nine or ten years old. As, for example, Saint Martin, Bishop of Tours, about the year 380 declared, that Antichrist was already in the world, but as yet still in boyhood. Towards the end of the eleventh century, about 1080, Ramieri, Bishop of Florence, was again perfectly certain, that Antichrist was then already born; and some decades later Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, gave a similar assurance to S. Bernard. The celebrated popular preacher Vincent Ferrer believed himself to be in possession of the most exact information on the subject. The birth of the great enemy of Christianity, he said, had taken place in the year 1403. In the year 1402 he wrote to Pope Benedict XIII., that Antichrist was now

of these prophecies.

nine years old; that this had been revealed to many persons simultaneously; and that it was therefore imperatively necessary to make this fact known to the world, "in order that the faithful might arm themselves beforehand for the terrible conflict in which they would soon have to engage."[1]

[1] In MALVENDA, *De Antichristo.* I. 119. [For further particulars respecting the various theories that have been current with regard to Antichrist, see Appendix C.]

III

NATIONAL PROPHECIES

MEANWHILE another species of prophecy had sprung up at an early age, having its root in the ground of nationality. We may pretty generally maintain that the prophetic impulse, so far as it is not influenced by religious ordinances, but is a natural outgrowth, is the result of expectations entertained by a whole nation, or very widespread, whether these be hopes or fears. What many people simultaneously desire, without the possibility of bringing it to pass through their own energies,—or again, what presents itself to them as a probable result of preceding events, or of the existing condition of things, clothes itself, in the minds of an imaginative people, in the robe of prophecy.

Prophecies spontaneously generated, without the influence of religion, are commonly the result of national hopes or fears.

Even the consciousness of guilt will easily assume the form of prediction. A people in whom the moral standard, and with it self-knowledge, has not yet been extinguished, will, in case of its

e. g. The fear of retribution for acknowledged national depravity.

becoming conscious of a deep degeneracy, of a moral corruption already wide-spread within itself, be unable to shut out the impression that the punishment for such depravity will sooner or later but inevitably come upon it. Supposing then that the expectation of such sentence of retribution should take a concrete, and, so to speak, plastic form,—as is wont to be the case when a people is at a particular stage of civilization,—it at once takes the form of prophecy. The prediction discloses on professed knowledge the special manner in which the chastisement will follow, what catastrophes will come in upon the nation, and even who will be the instrument of vengeance. And what holds good of nations holds good also of particular classes, holds good of corporations and of institutions.

Or the longing for deliverance from a foreign yoke.

Let a people be oppressed by a foreign power, or violently deprived of territory which it once possessed;—then it is the universally felt longing for deliverance from this yoke, which becomes an announcement of it beforehand. Hence the prophecy is frequently the production, not of one person, but of many; or at any rate it does not admit of being traced back to a single individual.

Unlike national songs, prophecies very rarely remain nameless.

But nevertheless a prediction cannot remain nameless, like a popular song, in the case of which no one asks for the name of its author. The popular mind, which does not trouble itself about the name of the bard, thinks it of the utmost importance to

be able to give the name of the Prophet. Where this is wanting, a name is almost always invented; and hence it is, that, quite apart from conscious fiction, we are met by so many mythical personages, or names without owners—*κωφὰ πρόσωπα*—in the history of modern prophesying.

Hence many mythical personages.

The very first instance, which it occurs to one to mention here, is a mythical figure of this sort. The Prophet, whose name is celebrated before all others in the early Middle Ages, and on whom so many prophetic utterances, which have since been fulfilled, have been fathered, is MERLIN, who may fairly be styled the Orpheus of Britain.

e. g. MERLIN the British Orpheus.

Whether an historical person of this name ever existed, is still a matter of dispute. NASH, in his Introduction to the English romance *Merlin*, which belongs to the middle of the fifteenth century, endeavours to show, in opposition to VILLEMARQUÉ, that Merlin or Ambrosius is purely a creation of the fancy, and that the British Merlin, whom the Chronicles represented as existing at the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, never existed at all. At any rate, later on he became the hero of a cycle of myths which has become deeply rooted in mediæval literature; and that, not as a bard, in which character, as STEPHENS[1] remarks, he is nowhere at all mentioned, but as a Prophet, an enchanter, and the son of a demon.

The very existence of Merlin a disputed point.

[1] "*Geschichte der wälschen Literatur*, übersetzt von San-Marte," 1864, p. 166. [History of Welsh Literature.]

Many prophecies originated with the Britons, when hard pressed by the Anglo-Saxons.

From the sixth century onwards the Britons or Kymry, owing to the ceaseless pressure of the advancing Anglo-Saxons, were confined to the western portions of the island, where they maintained a certain degree of independence in a few small states. It has been observed that in the twelfth century the Britons occupied themselves very much with prophecies, and numerous prophetic sayings went about among them from mouth to mouth. They originated with the weaker race, which was always being threatened by its powerful and overbearing neighbour. Consciousness of this condition of things and hopes of a favourable turn of fortune were expressed in their vaticinations. So that Merlin is at bottom the prophetic spirit of the people personified, and every saying was tacked on to his name. As early as the very oldest witness of all, in the British historian NENNIUS[1] in the ninth century, he appears as a purely mythical figure, as a wonderful youth, who in reality is the son of a Roman Consul unknown to his mother. He discovers in a deep secluded spot the two Snakes, the White one (the Saxons) and the Red one (the Britons), fighting with one another. Seeing, however, that the North Britons

Merlin a mythical personage in very early times, e.g. in Nennius.

[1] [Abbot of Bangor, escaped a massacre of the monks of his house, and took refuge at Chester. The *Historia Britonum* is among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum; but it is almost certainly not the work of Nennius. It is called his solely on the authority of the two Prologues, which cannot be traced to an earlier period than the 12th century.]

also in Scotland had their national prophetic utterances, and that some one was wanted as the reputed author of these sayings, which were current without a name, a second Merlin was invented, a Caledonian one, the duplicate of the first.[1] Of this one all that people had to relate was, that he had become mad through seeing two flying snakes,

[1] [Thus RANULPH HIGDEN in his *Polychronicon*. London, 1865. I., 416.

Ad nevyn in norwallia
Est insula permodica,
Quæ Bardeseya dicitur;
A monachis incolitur.
Ubi tam diu vivitur
Quod senior præmoritur;
Ibi Merlinus conditur
Silvestris, ut asseritur;
Duo fuerunt igitur
Merlini, ut conjicitur,
Unus dictus Ambrosius,
Ex incubo progenitus,
Ad Kermerthyn Demetiæ
Sub Vortigerni tempore;
Qui sua vaticinia
Proflavit in Snawdonia
Ad ortum amnis Coneway
Ad clivum montis Eriry;
Dynas-Embreis, ut comperi,
Sonat collem Ambrosii;
Ad ripam quando regulus
Vortiger sedit anxius.
Est *alter* de Albania
Merlinus, quæ et Scotia;
Repertus est binomius
Silvestris Calidonius;
A silva Calidonia,
Qua promsit vaticinia,
* * * *
Arthuri regis tempore;
Prophetavit apertius
Quam Merlinus Ambrosius.]

had retired into a wood, and there had ended his life. And hence occurred there also just what came to pass in Wales. Many, as the Scottish chronicler FORDUN says, fancied that in the circumstances which arose they recognized the fulfilment of one of Merlin's prophetic utterances. Gradually, however, from the close of the twelfth century onwards, Merlin grew into a Prophet, celebrated in the whole of southern Europe, who, like THE SYBIL, had to give his name to new prophetic utterances that were continually appearing.

Galfried of Monmouth spreads the fame of Merlin.

GALFRIED OF MONMOUTH, who was Bishop of S. Asaph about the year 1152, has contributed most towards this in his *History of the Britons*.[1] It is by him especially that Merlin's fame as a prophet has been spread abroad on the continent. After TURPIN'S[2] *Life of Charles the Great*, perhaps no book has had such powerful influence on the cycle of mediæval stories as Galfried's prettily told history of the ancient British Kings. In order to

[1] [*Origo et gesta regum et principum Britanniæ, sive historia Britonum ab Æneâ et Bruto.* Galfried's work has been variously estimated as regards its historical value. Some have called him the English Homer, and father of lies. He is believed to have died about 1180, having resigned his see in 1175, apparently because he preferred the court of Henry II. to residence at S. Asaph's.]

[2] [Talpin is another variation of the name, of which, however, Tilpin is the correct form. He was Archbishop of Reims from 753 to 800. The fabulous character of the pretended chronicle, which bears his name—*Histoire de la Vie de Charlemagne et de Roland*—has long since been exposed. It exists in prose, in French and Latin, and in a metrical form in French. The translation from old French to the vulgar tongue appears to have been made in the time of Philip Augustus. It was this popular version which had such wide-spread influence.]

glorify his people, he wove together material borrowed from GILDAS, BEDE, and NENNIUS, with popular stories of the Britons, and adornments and amplifications added by himself, and thus produced an attractive, smoothly running historical work, which for a long while imposed upon posterity. His statement, that he had merely translated a British original, which had remained utterly unknown, is doubtless a fiction. He has produced what is certainly an attractive romance, which in its turn has become the direct or indirect source of endless romances and poems, and from which in the stories of Arthur and of the Round Table a broad stream of poetry has flowed into the centuries following.

Popularity of his work;

The lengthy prophetic utterance of Merlin,[1] which Galfried incorporated with his work, but which has also been published separately, had a powerful influence on the imagination, not only of the Britons, but also of other nations, especially of the French, in the Middle Ages. Galfried appears to have spun out still further the definite sayings and fancy-pictures of Merlin which had been preserved by oral tradition, and to have introduced into them a succession in time. It is a prophetic representation of long contests, with varying success, between Britons, Anglo-Saxons, and Normans.

which includes a long prophecy of Merlin.

Contents of the prophecy, which is not an invention of Galfried.

[1] [*Versio prophetiarum Ambrosii Merlini.* This forms the fourth Book of Galfried's history in CAVELLAT'S edition (Paris, 1517), the seventh in COMELIN'S (Heidelberg, 1587); printed separately with notes by ALAIN DE LILLE (Frankfort, 1603).]

The people who came over from Neustria in wood and brazen garments (that is, the Normans) are to take vengeance on the German Dragon, before whom the Red Dragon is compelled to give way. Certain features out of English history in the first half of the twelfth century are joined on, along with the taking of Ireland; and soon afterwards he fixes in a prophetic manner the time for the great national rising of the Welsh people. Then will come the overthrow of the Strangers (that is, the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans). Then will the streams grow ruddy with blood, Armorica will pour out her springs (meaning that the Britons will conquer with the help of their comrades of the same blood from Brittany), and they will be crowned with the crown of Brut (the mythical first British king); the island, moreover, will again be called after the name of Brut (Britain), and the name given by the Strangers (England) will pass away.

None of it came to pass.

Galfried did not invent these things, but took them out of the popular stories. Not one of the whole number came to pass; rather the very opposite took place; but one understands why Englishmen, like the chronicler WILLIAM OF NEWBRIDGE[1] (about the year 1198), should express their displeasure respecting these "divinationes falla-

[1] [William of Newburgh, surnamed Parvus; born at Bridlington, in Yorkshire, 1136; died an Augustinian Canon of the monastery there, 1208. He wrote *De rebus Anglicis sui temporis libri V.*, 1066–1197; edited by HEARNE, 1719; and by HAMILTON, 1856.]

cissimæ," with those who promote and decorate them, in strong language. On the other hand it is astonishing, that, in spite of this, Merlin's reputation as a prophet should have continued to maintain itself, not only with the people of Wales, but also among the French and Germans. Of King Arthur it is said in the prediction, that "his departure shall be doubtful," meaning that it will be uncertain whether he is dead or still living. But the people believed in his being alive and in his return; and according to the remark of the commentator ALANUS, even in Brittany anyone would have been stoned by the people who should maintain that Arthur had died like any other man.[1]

Yet Merlin's reputation as a Prophet remained unshaken.

Even the English historians did homage to the universal belief in Merlin and his prophetic sayings. How frequently one reads in them, "Tunc imple-" tum est illud Merlini," or, "Ut impleretur Merlini "prophetia." Even as early as by Galfried great alterations were made in the story of Merlin. Galfried assigns as his father an evil spirit called Incubus; and one cannot acquit him of the charge of having thereby furthered a sinister delusion, which was subsequently raised to the position of a theological dogma by Thomas Aquinas, and which has cost thousands of men their lives.

Respect which English writers show towards him.

Disastrous change in the story of his birth.

[1] ALANUS DE INSULIS, *Prophetia Angelicana*, Frof. (1603), pp. 19, 20. [Alanus was a Fleming and monk of Clairveaux; Bishop of Auxerre, 1151–1169; resigned and retired to Clairveaux, where he died, 1182. He wrote a life of S. Bernard.]

Belief in his prophecies encouraged insurrections among the Welsh.

According to the belief of the Britons, Merlin had foretold, not only the fall of the British kingdom, the invasion of the Saxons, and subsequently of the Normans, but also the return of the two Kings, Arthur and Cadwallader. He had announced that, in the end, the Red Dragon should conquer the White Dragon, and that the ancient British Kingdom should again be set up. And hence, as the MONK OF MALMESBURY says, fresh risings and insurrections of the prophecy-believing people of Wales were perpetually breaking out; until at last, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the English enforced a full and permanent submission of the land. Thus the restlessness of the Welsh, their love of revolt and thirst for war, were ascribed to the influence of the prophetic sayings of Merlin.[1]

A counter-prophecy created as an antidote.

The need of some kind of antidote to prediction, something which might act as water to the far too fiery wine of Kymric hopes, was very pressingly felt. Hence, under the name of the ancient Welsh bard TALIESIN, who lived in the sixth century, there appeared a prediction which announced to them, "Your speech and your songs "shall ye retain; but of your ancient lands shall "nought remain to ye, save only your rough

[1] "Hos consuevit fallere
"Et ad bella impingere
"Merlini vaticinium,
["Et frequens sortilegium,"]

says the monk RANULPH HIGDEN (about the year 1310) in his *Polychronicon*, ed. BABINGTON. London, 1865, I., 410.

"Welsh mountains."[1] In order thoroughly to cure the Welsh of their delusion respecting an Arthur still living, who would one day come again, people even went so far in King Henry II.'s time as to arrange the discovery of a grave, and produce a veritable body of Arthur, six hundred years after his death! (For Arthur is said to have died in the year 542 on the island of Avalon.) But the popular belief remained ineradicable for a considerable time longer. And meanwhile Merlin's fame as a Prophet spread over land and sea, so that in the thirteenth century, even in Italy, almost every event, which was either out of the common run or productive of important consequences, was forthwith followed by the discovery of a prophecy of Merlin, which had announced its occurrence long beforehand.

Pretended discovery of Arthur's body.

Spread of Merlin's fame in Italy;

In France, Merlin's reputation stood still higher; for there Celtic sympathy for the oppressed kindred people in the island of Britain, and primitive hatred against the Anglo-Saxons, lent a peculiar authority to the prophetic voice of the British Merlin. In the poetical history of King Philip Augustus, by Guillaume le Breton, King Louis VIII. is at the end formally invited to fulfil the promise of the

in France;

[1] In *Cambro-Briton*, London, 1821, II., 185, the prophecy, somewhat modernized, runs thus:—

"Still shall they chaunt their Maker's praise,
"Still keep their language and their lays,
"But nought of all their old domain
"Save Wallia's rude and mountain reign."

British Seer, and wrest the sceptre from the "Eng- "lish boy" (that is, the young King Henry III. of England), in order that he, Louis, may reign alone in the two kingdoms. "And thus," adds the poet, "in accordance with the prophetic saying of the "Breton Seer (Merlin), the venom of the White "Snake (the Anglosaxons) and all its brood will be "utterly rooted out from our gardens."[1]

not in Ireland. There the national Saints are the Prophets.

One might have expected that in Ireland prophetic creations, similar to those of Wales, would have been found; nevertheless, Ireland has produced no Merlin. Here it is the ancient Saints of the land—PATRICK, COLUMBA, ADAMNAN, and others,[2]—to whom the prophecies are ascribed. But these vaticinations have no religious character. They have reference partly to events, and withal very trivial events, in the endless wars between individual Irish chieftains; partly to the invasion of the Danes in the ninth century; or, lastly, to the

[1] *Recueil des historiens de France*, XVII., 286.

[2] ["Cum enim quatuor Hibernici prophetas habeant, Melingum, "Braccanum, Patricium, et Kolumkillum (the Colum Cille of Irish "writers, the S. Columba of Bede), quorum etiam apud illos libri adhuc "exstant Hibernice scripti, &c., &c." GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. DIMOCK. London, 1867. II., 34. Prophecies of S. Patrick seem to be unknown in Irish tradition. In the *Martyrology of Donegal*, under S. Berchan, Dec. 4th, a quatrain is preserved giving the four national Prophets as above, excepting that S. Breannain is substituted for S. Patrick :—

"The four prophets of the fine Gaels,
"Better of it the country whence they came,
"Colum Cille, Moling the perfect,
"Brenainn of Biorr (Birr, in King's County), and Berchan."

Note in loco, p. 385.]

Anglo-Norman occupation and gradual conquest. The English writer, GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, has given to his history of the conquest of Ireland, written in the thirteenth century, the epithet of "prophetic"—*Historia Vaticinalis*;—for his object is to show, that, through the invasion and bloody successes of the English adventurers, Strongbow and De Courcy, ancient prophecies of S. Columba and the other Fathers of Ireland were fulfilled.[1]

Prophecies of an English conquest of Ireland invented to aid the English invaders.

The suspicion that such sayings of the prophets were invented at the time in the interests of the English conquerors, is heightened by the statement of Giraldus, that De Courcy himself always carried about with him a book of Irish prophecies.[2] And when it was further foretold in native predictions, that the English would never again be driven from possession of the eastern part of the island, but that finally in the last times they would obtain dominion over the whole of Ireland,—the object of such inventions has no doubt been attained. An Irish scholar, O'CURRY,[3] has lately subjected to investi-

[1] [Cf. I., 3, 16, 20, 30, 33, 38, 45: II., 17, 29, 31, 32, 34; III., Præfatio.]

[2] In CAMBDEN'S Collection; *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica.* Frankfort, 1603, pp. 794, seq., 803. "Ipse vere Johannes (de Curci) "librum hunc propheticum, Hibernice scriptum, tanquam operum "suorum speculum præ manibus dicitur habuisse."

[3] *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Irish History.* Dublin, 1861. pp. 382–434. [Some persons, however, think that Professor O'Curry goes a little too far when he says, that there can be no doubt that these prophecies are fabrications, either of Giraldus Cambrensis himself, or of John de Courcy. There seems to be no reason for suspecting the honesty of Giraldus. And though De Courcy knew that these predictions were forgeries, that does not prove that he fabricated them himself.]

gation the stock of prophecies extant in Ireland, most of which exist only in manuscript, and has come to the conclusion, that they partly have been composed after the event, partly are inventions made to help on the event. Those prophetic sayings, which in Ireland, as elsewhere, flatter an impoverished posterity, succeeding to a more exalted and wealthy generation, with the prospect of a reaction which shall restore prosperity on the island, appear here to have been preserved rather as family traditions. But the great influence which they still continue to have is shown by O'Curry.[1] "He himself," he says, "knew hundreds of persons, "and among them well-educated men and women, "who neglected the usual means of obtaining a "livelihood, in the hope, fed on prophetic sayings, "that a great restoration would take place in Ire-"land; although these prophetic sayings in no "single instance stated *when* this would come to "pass."

Their influence not yet extinct.

The Scots also, as one might expect, possess their national prophecies; and a fresh collection of them was published by the Bannatyne Club in the year 1833. But they nearly all of them bear on the very face of them the mark of being compositions which lamely follow the event. A few that are genuine in their own way are the products of the time in which the Scots were prostrate under the superior power of the English; which was especially the

Scottish national prophecies were for the most part fabricated after the event.

[1] *Lectures*, p. 431.

case after 1355,[1] and again after 1513. Thereupon national prophecies comforted the downcast people with the hope that "Albania" (Scotland) would again raise itself up, and, in union with the descendants of Brut (the Welsh), cast down their haughty "English" neighbour, and make the soil of England drunk with blood.[2] Later on, after the alliance into which Scotland entered with France, the hope was transferred to the powerful help of the French lilies, and in this case, just as in the other, was never fulfilled.

National prophecies in Portugal.

At the south-west extremity of Europe, the kingdom of Portugal, owing to its tragical fate, has been in later times a fruitful soil for the growth of Prophets. This small country, thanks to an able dynasty (the second Burgundian), to its expeditions of discovery, and its settlements in Asia and Africa, had, in the course of the fifteenth century, risen to the rank of a first-rate Power, the first in modern times. Its capital became the chief market for the commerce of the world. Under King Emmanuel, 1495–1521. rightly surnamed "the Great," the sea-route to the

[1] [In 1356 Edward III. made his showy and destructive, but scarcely successful invasion of the Lowlands, an invasion chiefly noted by the mischief done to religious houses. It left marks and recollections very detrimental to Edward's policy in Scotland. In the same year Edward Baliol made an absolute gift and surrender of his crown and kingdom of Scotland to King Edward and his heirs. In 1513 the bloody field of Flodden, "the most disastrous of all in imme- "diate loss" to Scotland. Burton's *History of Scotland*, III., pp. 32, 246.]

[2] So in the Latin prophecy in WRIGHT. *Reliquæ Antiquæ*. London, 1846. II., 246.

East Indies was discovered, and Brazil was con-
1557. quered. After the death of John III., the child Sebastian[1] ascended the throne, and under the misguidance of the Jesuits undertook a war in Africa,
Defeat and death of King Sebastian. with forces altogether inadequate. In the disastrous battle of Alcassar, in the year 1578, Portugal lost its King and its army; and soon afterwards the dynasty of Burgundy was extinguished in its collective male and female representatives.[2] The beaten and vanquished country fell in consequence for sixty years under the hated dominion of Spain; and even under the national dynasty of Braganza[3] has never remounted to its former power and prosperity. In this position of affairs the same thing occurred there as took place in Germany after the death of the Emperor Frederick II.; viz., a deep yearning after the missing King (of whose death in the battle, however, no one could give quite certain
Expectation of his return. tidings) was awakened in the now unhappy nation. The Portuguese clung persistently to the consolation and hope that their King was not dead, that at the right moment he would appear again and break
Pretended Sebastians. in pieces the Spanish yoke. One false Sebastian

[1] [He was only three years old when the sudden death of his grandfather took place. His father had died before he was born. Sebastian's surname in Portuguese history is "the Regretted."]

[2] [Sebastian was succeeded by Henrique, Cardinal-Archbishop of Evora, almost the only instance of a Bishop-King. He was the last male of the royal house, and of course could have no son. At his death the Pope claimed the kingdom, because the property of Cardinals who die without a will belongs to the See of Rome!]

[3] [Reinstated in 1640 in the person of John IV., "the Restorer."]

after another came up,[1] undismayed by the fate which had befallen his predecessors; and the belief that "the Hidden Prince" (o principe encubierto), as he was called, was alive on some distant island, maintained itself ineradicably. The whole store of prophetic sayings since Joachim and Brigitta was ransacked, and some were soon found which could be made to have special reference to Portugal and its glorious future, and thus confirm the Sebastianists in their delusion. Nor was there any want of fresh oracles, which proceeded and spread from the monasteries; and national Prophets arose, among them the tailor BANDARRA[2] in particular, whose comforting verses were learnt by heart by the Portuguese. Confidence in the reappearance of the national King maintained itself in the country even far beyond the limits of a human lifetime, and the fact of the house of Braganza ascending the throne could not destroy it. "One half of the nation," said the Count of Schomberg to King Louis XIV. on coming from Portugal, "is looking for the "coming of Sebastian, and the other half for the

[1] [One appeared in 1585. He was arrested, taken to Lisbon, and condemned to death, but sent to the galleys instead. Two years before, Alvares, a monk of Cintra, had become a hermit near Ericena. The people believed him to be Sebastian, and he in vain assured them that he was not. At last he was persuaded to take up arms. He gave the Cardinal-Regent some trouble, but finally was captured, brought into Lisbon on an ass, and hung. In 1594 another pseudo-Sebastian appeared in a Spanish convent. He was seized and hung before he had done any mischief.]

[2] [In 1541 he fell into the hands of the Inquisition, figured in an *auto-da-fé*, and was near being burnt as a heretic.]

"coming of the Messiah."[1] Sebastian was to the Portuguese the symbol and pledge of their irretrievably lost national greatness and glory; and the thought of their colonies conquered by the English and the Dutch, of their broken prosperity, of their vanished commerce, kept the hope ever awake, that he, with whose disappearance all this had been destroyed, would bring it back again with return.[2]

Predictions of the Jesuit Vieira.

Even after the middle of the seventeenth century, when the house of Braganza was already firmly established on the throne of Portugal, yet another man came forward as a political and religious Prophet, whose name stands very high in the literature of his country, the Jesuit VIEIRA, the most celebrated preacher of his nation. He merely intended, like the Joachimites, to set forth and explain the already extant prophetic sayings, which were mostly by Spanish and Portuguese monks, including those of Bandarra. After twenty years of investigation and work, mainly on the authority of Bandarra, he published his writings,—a *Key to the Prophets*, and a *History of the Future*,[3] with the

[1] "Que voulez-vous que je dise à votre Majesté d'une nation, dont la "moitié attend le roi Sébastian, et l'autre le Messie." BOUTARIE, *Correspondance secrète inédite de Louis XV.* Paris, 1867. I., 191. By the second half Schomberg meant the numbers of secret Jews, which still existed at that time among the Portuguese.

[2] See MIGUEL D'ANTAS, *Les faux Don Sébastian, étude sur l'histoire de Portugal.* Paris, 1866, pp. 450–456. Here one learns that even in the year 1838 there were Sebastianists in the interior of Brazil.

[3] *Historia do futuro;* besides this an unprinted manuscript,—*Esperanças de Portugal: quinto imperio do Mundo*, and a treatise first

view of announcing to his hoping and yearning fellow-countrymen, who were still in very many instances Sebastianists, that their King would be awaked again by God, and would raise his Portugal to be the kernel and centre of a new Empire of the world; the fifth, according to the well-known reckoning in Daniel, seeing that the fourth, the Roman-German, had already in a great measure fallen into decay, and on Sebastian's appearance would be fully dissolved. During the time of this fifth kingdom the conversion of all Jews and heathen would follow, and therewith the promise of "one Fold and one Shepherd" find its fulfilment. The Inquisition at Coimbra took cognizance of the matter, the Pope confirmed its sentence, and Vieira was obliged to recant, and was imprisoned for years.

He is condemned and imprisoned.

It is very remarkable that the pagan State-institution, prevalent in old Rome, of divining the future, half by way of oracles, half by way of

Pagan divination practised in the Eastern Empire.

printed in 1856 with the title, *Discurso em que se prova a vinda do Senhor Rey D. Sebastian;* see D'ANTAS, p. 453, and the *Deductio chronologica et analytica* of SEABRA SILVIUS. Lisbon, 1771. II., 328. [The *Clavis Prophetarum,* on which he was at work for fifty years, was never finished, though he lived to be nearly ninety, 1608 to 1697. He was arrested by the Holy Office, October 2nd, 1665, and released December 24th, 1667, apparently *without* any retractation being required of him. In 1669 he was invited to Rome, where Clement X. and his Cardinals seemed anxious to make amends to him for his treatment at the hands of the Inquisition by the attention which they paid him. His arrest and imprisonment appear to have been the result of political intrigues, the work of the favourites of Alfonso VI., whose banishment from the court of the wild young King had been recommended by Vieira to the Queen Regent. WEISS ap. MICHAUD'S *Biographie Universelle.*]

omens, was transplanted into the Roman Empire of the East, or else cropped up there afresh. In the imperial library at Constantinople there existed, from the eighth or ninth century, a book with figures, to which were attached so-called sibylline prophecies or explanatory comments. But the comments were not less uncertain and ambiguous in meaning than the figures of men or animals, to which they were intended to serve as explanation. Not very different from this appears to have been the book of Visions (ὁράσεις), of which Bishop LUITPRAND makes mention in his report of the embassy. The Greeks would have called it after Daniel, he said, but he preferred to call it sibylline. It contained the number of years of each Emperor's reign and the fortune of the Empire under him, which, however, merely means that certain marks and pictures were interpreted to signify these things after the event. And how this was done one sees from the application of the book which, according to the narrative of ZONARAS, was made on the occasion of the murder of the Emperor Leo the Armenian. The picture represented a lion with the Greek letter X on its back and a man stabbing the lion through the middle of the X. It was thereupon discovered that in this the assassination of the Emperor, which had taken place on Christmas Day (the day of Christ, and hence the X), had been foreshadowed.

Book of Visions.

There exists an interpretation or paraphrase of these oracles, which professes to be by the Emperor Leo the Philosopher. It has the ring, however, of an original prophetic saying, and promises, in dark and cramped language, the appearance of an imperial deliverer, an oriental Frederick, who shall come to save the Empire and the people. Proceeding from the Ishmaelites (that is, the Muhammadans), he will rule over them, adorned with all virtues, an Archangel of God in the venerable form of an old man, poor as a beggar, and yet not needy. Two Angels, in the form of eunuchs, will accompany him. A voice from heaven will say to the people, "Doth he please "you?" and all will receive him with adoration. As to the time at which this prediction originated there is no clue.[1] The astonishing thing about it is, that it makes the deliverance come from that hereditary foe, the Moslem, unless we have here already an anticipation, that at some time or other a Moslem ruler will subdue the Roman Empire of the East. Then again, the fact that poverty is mentioned as the chief distinctive mark of the rescuing Monarch; although otherwise in oriental Christianity, poverty has by no means the value and religious significance, which western nations were wont to attribute to it from the thirteenth century onwards. Just as the Teutonic West

Interpretation attributed to Leo VI., 886–911.

Two remarkable features:— 1. the deliverance comes from Islam. 2. Poverty is glorified.

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, vol. cvii. p. 1141 sq., where it is found together with other oracular sayings of Leo.

was distinguished precisely by this trait, that the Emperor of its expectation, the hoped-for Frederick, must be the true son of a King and scion of a ruling family, not an upstart stranger. A foreign deliverer could be an object of expectation only in a country in which lasting dynasties and dynastic continuity were almost unknown, and where the name *Porphyro-genitus*[1] was used as the mark of a rare peculiarity.

Expectation of a beggar who will become Emperor, and inaugurate a Golden Age;

Nevertheless, this Byzantine expectation of one called from the deepest poverty to the imperial dignity, of a beggar (πτωχός), whom God shall raise up from his destitution (ἀπὸ πενίας), maintained itself for a long time. We find it in the tenth century in NICEPHORUS, the biographer of Andrew Salo.[2] The longed-for one is to inaugurate a Golden Age in the Byzantine Empire, to humble the Sons of Hagar (that is, the Arabs), and to burn up them and their children with fire. From the twelfth year of his reign will all payment of tribute cease. Illyricum (Bulgaria) and Egypt will again belong to the Empire, and he will at last tame even the fair-haired nations (the Germans and Franks), and wield the sceptre for two-and-thirty years. Thus do the wishes of the Greeks transform themselves into prophetic utterance. But, characteristically enough, this most splendid dominion shall, according to the pre-

which, however, will be followed by a period of great wickedness and misery.

[1] [Constantine IX. (or VII.), son of Leo the Philosopher.]

[2] *Acta Sanctorum*, Maji. VI., Appendix, p. 96.

diction, be immediately followed by an age of darkness and of the most wicked reigns. Hence a sudden transition from an age of brilliant virtues and of moral purity to a period in which all wickedness shall have shameless dominion,—a reaction, for which the sole reason assigned is (in accordance with Byzantine absolutism) the personal character, will, and example of the Monarch. In the capital at that time people believed that they were already in possession of prophetic assurance, that Constantinople, a city dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and defended by her, would never be conquered by the foe. It will, doubtless, be besieged, they said, but the foe will retire with shame and disgrace.[1] This delusion was most certainly dispelled by the Latin conquest in the year 1204. And later on one finds a sibylline prophecy, which may well have been composed before the year 1453.[2] Therein it is foretold that the wickedness of Byzantium, the bloodshed and the sins against nature, shall come up as a cry before God, and the enemy shall burst in upon the city, shall annihilate its glory and its honour, shall violate the holy place and the women, shall consign the buildings to the flames, and shall cause the cry of woe to resound over all. After which there is an intimation in dark language of a further reaction which shall one day come to pass.

Hints of a further reaction.

[1] Such was the declaration of ANDREW SALO, l. c. 96.

[2] It is to be found in WOLF's Collection,—*Lectiones memorabiles.* Lauingen, 1600. I., 71.

Disastrous effects of these prophecies.

In the last days of the declining Empire predictions like these produced a most detrimental effect. They perplexed and discouraged men's minds. In a monastery at Constantinople a tablet was discovered, which, like other Byzantine prophecies, was attributed to the Emperor Leo the Philosopher (886–911). It exhibited in two columns the succession of Emperors and Patriarchs, each name having a space to itself; and it showed that there was only a single empty space remaining, so that the reigning Emperor Constantine would be the last.[1] On the other hand, another prophecy, which was intended to inspire the Byzantines with confidence, was also extant, but in its effects was no less disastrous. It was to this effect, that if the Turks should force their way into the city, and reach even to the column of Justinian, then suddenly an angel would appear and pluck them all out. The consequence of a firm belief in this miraculous rescue was simply this, that the populace refrained from all participation in the defence of the city, and left it entirely to the far too weak garrison.[2]

Their great influence,

A notable example of the power which these

[1] [So also during the plague in Milan, 1630, the current prophecies aggravated the disease by causing a belief that escape or recovery was impossible. During the Great Fire of London, a son of Sir Kenelm Digby, setting up for a Prophet, persuaded people that the destruction of London was written in the Book of Fate, and that it was folly to resist. Hundreds, who might have helped, were induced to look on and do nothing.]

[2] Laonicus Chalcondylus, 8, 215, p. 406, ed. Bonn. Leonard. Chiens. apud Bzovium, *Annal. eccles.* an. 1453.

illustrated by the case of George of Trebizond.

Byzantine prophecies exercised even over acute and educated minds is the zealous Aristotelian George of Trebizond, one of the most learned of the Greeks, who were driven into Italy by the Turkish conquest.[1] The old prediction about an Emperor and universal Monarch who should arise from among the Ishmaelites, had brought him in the year 1469 at Rome, where he was a public teacher, to the conviction, — that the reigning Sultan, Muhammad II., the conqueror of Constantinople, was this Ishmaelite, who would forthwith be converted to the Christian faith, and as Emperor Emanuel and sole Monarch of the world call all nations to the true faith; a conversion of the world, which would come to pass entirely of itself, without any special effort on the part of Christians. This innocent hope of his was counted in Rome as a grievous offence; for people supposed that he had the further notion that his "just Emperor" would set on foot a great massacre of the Clergy, which was the wide-spread idea with regard to

He is misunderstood in Rome and imprisoned.

[1] [Among these have been reckoned Argyropulus (who, however, had probably been in Italy for some years before the capture of Constantinople), Chalcondylus, Andronicus Callistus, and Constantine Lascaris. George of Trebizond is perhaps best known from his controversy with Theodore Gaza and Cardinal Bessarion on the endless question of the comparative merits of Plato and Aristotle. George would seem to have been vastly inferior to his opponents, both in power and temper. He translated several works of the Greek Philosophers and Fathers into Latin, with more rapidity than accuracy. Bessarion says of the translation of Plato's *Laws*, that, if anyone had leisure enough to care to compare it with the original, he would certainly find as many mistakes as words. Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, I. p. 147. Boissonade, article in Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*.]

the expected Emperor in the West. George had no such thought. The Byzantine predictions knew nothing of an impending bloody persecution of the Clergy, for in the Eastern Church the relation of the Clergy to the Laity had not been so adverse and hostile as it was at that time in the West. The unhappy man was robbed of his possessions by the Roman magistrates, and thrust into prison; until at last Alfonso King of Naples interested himself on his behalf, and supported him until his death in the year 1483.[1]

[1] Confer respecting him ARETIN's *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Literatur*, IX., 837. [Some say he lived till 1486, which would make him exactly ninety when he died.]

IV

PROPHECIES RESPECTING ROME

Rome, the centre of the world's history.

THERE is one city which has offered richer material to the prophetic impulse than many a large kingdom—Rome; the city, which assuredly for two thousand years has been uniquely and unapproachably one of the largest factors in the history of the world; which—huge sepulchre of nations though it be—yet again and again, with the magnetic power of an alluring goal, which every man desires to reach and behold once in his lifetime, draws all mankind to itself. Strange how the view of the lastingness of this city, and of the higher degree of protection guaranteed to it, changed in the course of time into the opposite![1]

[1] [But in spite of the violence of princes, and the speculations of theologians, the old feeling, that Rome is a necessary element in the world's history, remains indestructible. Though all should hold their peace, the very stones of Rome proclaim this article of faith to every visitor. HERMANN GRIMM gives expression to this ineradicable feeling in one of his Essays. "One fancies, when the world was created, that

The Eternal City.

In her pagan days Rome was accounted as the everlasting, and the title of "the Eternal City" and Mistress of the World in poetry, in history and geography, even in daily public life, was understood of her as a matter of course.

In the time of the Christian Emperors down to the end of the fifth century Rome still retained—at any rate with pagan writers—her name of "the "Eternal City." "She shall live as long as there "are men," says AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.[1] This name gave offence to the Christians. They believed that by the "name of blasphemy," which, according to the *Revelation* of S. John (xvii. 3, 5), was written on the forehead of the harlot "arrayed in "purple and scarlet colour," was meant this very

This title considered blasphemous by Christians.

"on the spot of the earth where Rome stands, a city *must* have grown, "sprouting up without the aid of man. In the case of other cities, one "can think, 'here was once a desert plain,' and so forth; in Rome, such "thoughts are almost an impossibility. In Berlin, Vienna, Paris, I can "picture to myself a storm, which should sweep everything from the "ground; but at Rome, it seems as if the very stones must gather them-"selves together again into palaces, were a convulsion to rend them "from one another; as if it were contrary to the laws of existence, that "the heights of the capitol should be without palaces, and temples, and "towers." Not that he believes that this sentiment corresponds with facts. "Practically considered, the thought is a worthless one. Rome "can no doubt be rooted out stock and stem, no less than Babylon and "Persepolis. Nevertheless, this fancy contains something higher than "itself; and this needs must be expressed. The sense of the eternal, of "the incomparable, which comes over us in Rome; the love of all cities "to this one."]

[1] *Rerum Gestarum*, Lib. xvi. c. 10, 14. [Cf. the reply of Hormisdas to Constantius, when the Emperor asked him, "quid de Roma "sentiret, 'id tantum sibi displicuisse' aiebat, 'quod didicisset ibi quo-"que homines mori.'" Ib. "Urbem auspicato deis auctoribus in æter-"num conditam." LIVY, xxviii. 28; iv. 4. TIBULLUS, II., v.]

appellation of eternal.[1] With the extinction of Paganism and the downfall of the Roman Empire of the West (that is from 476 onwards) the proud name vanished also, although others still remained; as when the Christian AUSONIUS salutes Rome as "the home of the gods, the Queen or the Head of "the World."[2] Even after the fall of the Empire, even after the ravages of Alaric the Goth and the sack under Genseric, Rome remained still in the eyes of men—quite apart from its ecclesiastical importance—the First of Cities, the Head of the World. When Totila, King of the Goths, would have levelled Rome to the ground, Belisarius warned him, that, if he laid violent hands on this city, the chief of all cities, he would be guilty of a grievous crime against the whole race of mankind.[3]

It perished with the Western Empire.

410.

455.

But the old sentiment still lingered.

547.

Again in the eighth century we may here and there catch an echo of the ancient view of Rome's

The city of Rome ceases to be connected with the Roman Empire.

[1] Confer JEROME, *Opera* ed. *Vallarsi*, I., 882, and the author of the treatise *De promissis et prædictionibus Dei*, in the collection of PROSPER'S Works, Paris, 1711. Appendix, p. 194.

[2] [Prima urbes inter, Divûm domus, aurea Roma, 285. *Ordo nobil. urb.* Cf. 298, 35–40.]

[3] PROCOPIUS. *Bell. Gothic.* [III. xxii. p. 517, ed. Paris, 1662. Totila had already commenced the work of destruction when the Embassy with the letter of Belisarius arrived. Belisarius urges that men of sense add to the beauty of cities; only fools, who are not ashamed to leave behind them this proof of their nature, destroy what others have reared. Rome was not built in a day, nor by one man. To destroy it is to undo the work of centuries. To destroy it is not to destroy a foreign city, but Totila's own. Totila is victorious now; but fortune may change. The preservation of Rome will stand him in good stead; should he ever have to sue for mercy. The destruction of it would be his doom. He has all to lose, and nothing to gain by destroying it.]

dignity as temporal ruler of the world, but already mingled with the later ecclesiastical view; as when the Abbess Cengitha in the year 733 made known to Boniface her longing to visit Rome, *once* the Queen of the World, and there receive forgiveness of her sins.[1] But the existence of the Roman Empire was no longer now, as formerly, united in men's minds with the continuance of Rome itself. Before the year 800, when the Roman Empire of the West was renewed by Charles the Great, the Empire continued on in the East even in name; for the Byzantine Greeks always called themselves "Romans," and maintained that they were the only true and lawful heirs and successors of old Rome. And since 800 Rome has never been the capital of the Empire in the West, has never been the residence of the Emperor. When, therefore, in all the centuries between 500 and 1500, just as formerly, the end of the Roman *Empire* was supposed to be necessarily bound up with the end of the earth's existence, no one any longer thought of adding to this the notion, that the *city* of Rome also must share in the same continuance until the end of time. On the contrary,—a closer study of the *Revelation*[2] of S. John brought men gradually to the conclusion, that the prophecy respecting the sentence of destruction pronounced upon Rome in

[1] Bonifacii, *Opera*; ed. Giles, I., 76.

[2] [The application of the visions of the Apocalypse, says Hallam (*Middle Ages*, III., 387; note h. London, 1856), has commonly been said to have been first made by the Franciscan seceders. But it may

the eighteenth chapter was not yet fulfilled, and consequently was still in the future, and would come to pass long before the close of time. According to the *Revelation* judgment shall come upon the city of the Seven Hills suddenly with death, mourning, famine, and fire, and she shall be utterly burned up.[1] These are things which did not come to pass, even in the storms of the Gothic wars, in which the destruction which took place was but gradual, and confined to certain parts of the city.

S. Benedict prophesies its

S. Benedict of Nursia (about 542) had de-

be traced higher, and is remarkably pointed out by Dante. *Inferno*, xix. 106–114.

"Di voi, Pastor, s' accorse il Vangelista,
Quando colei, che siede sovra l' acque,
Puttaneggiar co' regi a lui fu vista:
Quella che con le sette teste nacque,
Et dalle diece corna ebbe argomento,
Fin che virtute al suo marito piacque.
Fatto v' avete Dio d' oro e d' argento,
Eche altro è da voi all' idolatre,
Se non ch' egli uno, e voi n'orate cento?"

"The Evangelist you Pastors had in mind,
When she who sitteth upon many waters
To fornicate with kings by him was seen;
The same who with the seven heads was born,
And power and strength from the ten horns received,
So long as virtue to her spouse was pleasing.
Ye have made yourselves a god of gold and silver;
And from the idolater how differ ye,
Save that he one, and ye a hundred worship?"
Longfellow's Translation.

Petrarch made a similar application of the Apocalypse. See Cary's note.]

[1] ["Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her."]

destruction by the powers of nature.

clared, that Rome would not be destroyed by foreign nations, but would be visited through the forces of nature,—storms, whirlwinds, and earthquakes, and would perish of itself.[1] More than thirteen hundred years have passed away since then, and of these physical devastations no sign has appeared. Later on the very plain passage in the *Apocalypse* compelled men to suppose that at any rate there was to be a destruction of Rome by *fire*. And this destruction was thought to be nearer at hand or further off, just according as people had in their eye either the moral condition of the inhabitants only, or brought this downfall of the city into connection with the corruption in the Church, and the degeneracy and vice of the Papacy, and therefore thought that the retribution on the seat and centre of Church-government was merely a part, a single preliminary, belonging to the great process of Church-reform.

The *Apocalypse* leads men to believe in a destruction by fire.

This was the case with the Spiritualists of the Minorite order, who more and more understood the apocalyptic Babylon to mean the Roman Church, grown corrupt and carnal, and now dwelling at Avignon; but at the same time they expected the destruction of Rome by fire. S. Brigitta, who lived for many years in Rome, prophesied in accordance with a vision which was communicated to her, that first the sword and then the fire would come upon Rome, after which the plough would pass

Prophecy of S. Brigitta;

[1] M. Gregorii *Dialogi*, 2, 15; ed. Bened. II., 240.

over its site.[1] S. Francisca Romana, in the year 1436, believed that the destruction of the city was already determined in the counsels of God, though afterwards she supposed that it had been averted by her intercession. Later on, however, she had another vision, in which the downfall of Rome was shown to her as close at hand.[2]

of S. Francisca Romana;

In a moral poem of an English monk, Richard Rolle of Hampole,[3] the expected destruction of Rome is already brought into connection with a general separation from the Roman Church, which no one will then obey any longer. About the same time an expectation arose, that the Roman Church would one day commit so monstrous a crime that many Churches would separate from her, whereupon, in accordance with the prophetic saying of S. Paul (2 Thess. ii.), the Man of Sin would appear.[4] In Germany the idea of the catastrophe which threatened Rome assumed the form that it would be a German or Roman Emperor who would execute the sentence on the guilty city. An Emperor will destroy first Rome, and then Florence,

of Richard Rolle of Hampole. He connects the destruction of Rome with a general rejection of the Roman Church.

In Germany it is believed that a German Emperor will destroy first Rome and then Florence.

[1] *Revelationes*, ed. Antwerp, 1611; p. 257.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum*, Bolland; Martii II., 147.

[3] *The Pricke of Conscience.* It was written in the fourteenth century, in the Northumbrian dialect, and was published a few years ago in London. See the passage, p. 111.

[4] Anselmi, *Opera.* Cologne, 1612. In Epist. II., ad. Thessal. 1, 2, II., 42.

[Et nunc revelabitur iniquus. Vel Romanus pontifex, qui tenet nunc ecclesias, teneat illas donec de medio fiat, id est, donec ab ipsâ Romanâ ecclesiâ, quæ est medium et cor ecclesiarum, fiat iniquitas, ob quam ab eâ multæ discedant ecclesiæ. Ibid. Paris, 1544; p. 205, M, A.]

the old metropolis of the Guelf party, so hostile to the Germans and their ruler. Such was the drift of the story and of the expectation during the fifteenth century and part of the sixteenth. In the year 1519, just when Charles V. was elected, a prophecy was brought from England to Venice,[1] to the effect that the new Emperor would subdue all states and nations, and compel the Muhammadans to accept Christianity, but would first burn Rome and Florence with fire; finally he would withdraw to Jerusalem, lay down his crown upon the Mount of Olives, and die. Now Charles burnt neither Rome nor Florence; but he besieged and reduced Florence to please Pope Clement VII., and how his horde of mercenaries captured and sacked Rome in 1527 is known to all the world.

Charles V. reduces Florence and sacks Rome;

Now, however, BERTHOLD, BISHOP OF CHIEMSEE, in his work, *The Burden of the Church*,[2] written in the year 1519, quotes this very identical prophetic saying, with the remark, that it is said to have appeared in Italy in the year 1505, but that it had first come into his hands in that year—1519. When Berthold wrote, Charles was not yet elected Emperor, so well prepared were people in Germany, when the despatch of May 6th, 1527, came, and the only Emperor, who after a lapse of 180 years once more possessed real power, seemed to be really going to work in earnest to fulfil the prophecy.

an outrage, which made little noise at the time, because prophecy had prepared men for something much worse.

[1] SANUTO has incorporated it in his large diary. See RAWDON BROWN'S *Calendar of State-Papers in Venice*, 1509–1519, p. 566.

[2] *Onus Ecclesiæ*, 48, 8, ed. 1531.

It is expressly remarked in the literature of the time, that an event, which now seems so extraordinary and unheard of,—seeing that no other great city met with a similar fate,—made very little impression on this side the Alps. People had expected something much worse.

Even on Rome itself the blow came by no means altogether unexpected. A hermit of Sienna, Bartolomeo Brandano, entered the streets of Rome not long before May, 1527, and cried[1] woe to the doomed city, which should fall a prey to the peoples beyond the Alps, for the grievous sins of the Pope and his Prelates. The Pope had him seized and thrown into prison, and then thrust him out of the city with the threat that, if he returned, he would have him thrown into the Tiber. But Brandano came back and preached again, that the vengeance of God would now come upon the clergy and the city. Clement VII. then had him really thrown from the bridge of S. Angelo into the river; but Brandano saved himself. Being once more thrown into prison, he was set free by the Imperial army, which made his prophecy come true. He appears to have stuck to the heels of Pope Clement; for, when the latter went to Orvieto, Brandano appeared there also and denounced him as a false Pope (on account of his illegitimate birth[2])

Denunciations of Brandano of Sienna.

Their fulfilment.

[1] [Cf. the denunciations of Solomon Eagle and others at the time of the Great Plague in London.]

[2] [He was a natural son of Giuliano de' Medici, murdered in the Pazzi conspiracy, fifty years before this.]

whose functions and indulgences were null and void.[1]

Rome's rapid recovery.

In a few years Rome had recovered itself from the terrible blow of the year 1527, and soon became far more rich than it had been before, in spite of its great rupture. Meanwhile the belief, that it was destined in later times to suffer an utter devastation by fire, remained. Rome is now the Babylon of the *Apocalypse*, the harlot, who says in her heart, "I sit as Queen,"[2] and the word of Scripture, not yet accomplished, delays its fulfilment. Thus as early as the fourteenth and fifteenth century the theory is advanced, that the fall of the Roman Empire will be accompanied by a separation of the nations from the Papal Chair.[3] And not only this, but even the inhabitants of Rome will rise up against the Papacy, which will see itself compelled to take its seat elsewhere; and then forthwith the sentence of doom will be executed on the city, now also a renegade from the faith. It was precisely those theologians, who were

She is now generally admitted to be the Babylon of *Revelation*.

The most Papal theo-

[1] Guicciardini, *Storia del Sacco di Roma*, in *Bernini, Storia delle Eresie*, iv. Raynald, *Annal.*, a. 1527; p. 648. All historians of the Augustine Order, which claims Brandano as one of its members, make mention of him. Angiolo Bardi gives the most exact account of him in his *Storia di Siena*, in Pecci, *Notizie storico-critiche sulla vita di Bartolomeo da Petrojo chiamato Brandano*. Lucca, 1763; p. 20. He had the reputation of sanctity with the populace of the time, and won belief in his prophetic mission.

[2] ["How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her: for she saith in her heart, I sit as Queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow."—xviii. 7.]

[3] So, for instance, the Abbot Engelbert, *De ortu, progressu, et fine Romani Imperii*, in the *Bibl. Max. PP.* t. xxv.

the most uncompromising adherents to the temporal power of the Popes, who defended this view. Rome, they said, had been an adulteress from of old. In the contests between the Popes and the Emperors, the Romans had always shown more sympathy with the Emperor than with the Pope.[1] All these sins would one day meet their retribution in that destroying conflagration.[2] The whole Order of the Jesuits for a long time declared itself in favour of this theory and explanation of the eighteenth chapter of Revelation. Thus RIBERA, VIEGAS, LESSIUS, BELLARMINE,[3] SUAREZ, HENRIQUEZ, CORNELIUS VAN DE STEEN (A LAPIDE), and others.

logians support this theory.

As also do the Jesuits.

Hence there arose the necessity for undertaking a removal of the Papal chair, to anticipate the sentence of doom; for the question respecting the continuance of the see, at any rate, could not be raised. People were thus led to the view, that the connection of the supreme ecclesiastical dignity and power with Rome and the Roman See was at any rate no indissoluble one. For with the destruction of Rome the Bishopric of Rome, in any case, came to an end, and the Church could, and must, never-

The Papal See removed from Rome to save it from the doom of the city.

[1] As early as the thirteenth century this certainly often proved to be the case, and was one of the reasons why the Popes after Innocent IV. (1243–1254) for the most part kept far away from Rome, and preferred to reside in small provincial towns.

[2] Thus states in particular the Roman Oratorian, THOMAS BOZIO. *De signis Ecclesiæ*, Lib. xxiv. cap. 6.

[3] Bellarmine shows himself to be very undecided, and oscillates between two contradictory statements. Compare on this MALVENDA, *De Antichristo*, I., 71, who excuses himself on the ground of the difficulty and obscurity of the question.

theless, still continue. Many, therefore, were of opinion, that just as Antioch, so long as Peter dwelt there, was the seat of the Primate before Rome, and no divine command, making Rome succeed to it, was extant; so in later times also it was possible for the Papal power to be transferred to another city and church.

V

THE PROPHETIC TEACHERS

IF one takes a closer view of the prophetic teachers themselves, one soon discovers that, when men of theological culture,—men like JOACHIM and SAVONAROLA,—imagined that they had received the gift of prophecy, they were at the same time subject to the influence of those views respecting the nature and conditions of this gift, which were traditional in the theology of the schools. Here it was universally taught, that the prophetic gift was in itself no sign of peculiar piety or holiness of life, that indeed even wicked men could receive the gift from God; and appeal was thereupon made to the words of Scripture respecting Caiaphas. There seemed, therefore, to be no presumption in it, no claim to an heroic degree of Christian virtue, when anyone maintained that a revelation respecting future events had been vouchsafed to him.[1] A

A claim to the gift of prophecy involved no claim to peculiar sanctity;

and hence did not seem to be presumptuous.

[1] So says the Dominican BERNARDIN PAULINI, in the oration which he made before Paul IV., when the latter was about to condemn the

peculiar spiritual disposition, a particular susceptibility of soul and spirit, the theologians go on to say, is not necessary for the gift of prophecy; and they combat the Rabbis, who require of a Prophet a natural gift, and a high degree of insight and wisdom. But of course, they said, a twofold consciousness must meet together in order to form a true Prophet. That is to say, he must know with absolute certainty, that what is revealed to him is true; and further, he must be convinced with equally strong certainty, that it is God who has revealed it to him. Now, no doubt Prophets like Joachim and others were wont to maintain, that it was not the spirit of the Prophets, but only that of understanding, which had been given to them, so that—no doubt in consequence of special higher enlightenment—they found in the prophetical books of Scripture predictions respecting the events of their own time and of that immediately following it. But that these interpretations were infallibly right, and that every prediction must certainly be fulfilled, no one, so far as the present writer is aware, has maintained. For people were generally accustomed to suppose, that it might sometimes happen even to a Seer to mix up spurious pro-

Many of these Prophets merely professed to have a peculiar insight into the meaning of prophecy.

They were not supposed to be infallible.

writings of Savonarola; "Ora dunque, se Fra Girolamo fu santo; o " tristo, io non ne parlo; basta che non è impossibile; ch' egli fusse " Profeta, essendo, come si sa, date e concesse le profezie anche ai tristi." QUETIF, *Vita P. Hieronymi Savonarolæ*, II., 572. The canon, that even wicked men at times have been true Prophets, has even passed into Canon Law. See in GRATIAN'S *Decretum*, Can. *Multæ autem*, and Can. *Prophetavit*, 19, 1.

phecies, which were the result of mere human motives, with true visions, which had the warrant of divine enlightenment. Accordingly THOMAS AQUINAS maintained that, if the prophetic light be perfect, it brings a lofty certainty, of which God alone is the author, along with it, and that by this feeling of certainty the human recipient recognizes the heavenly origin of his visions;—a criterion in the highest degree precarious, for this feeling very frequently depends merely upon the strength and liveliness of the imagination. At any rate, the canon, that a Prophet is not entirely assured against self-deception, must be allowed by every one who has made himself even moderately acquainted with the field of visions and revelations. Anyhow, people admitted the case of prophetic threats (prophetiæ comminatoriæ), according to the Scriptural precedent of Jonah and Isaiah, which, if those who were threatened repented, were not fulfilled. And this also was granted, that often the full meaning of the inspiration received is not disclosed to the Prophet; who is always but an imperfect instrument in God's hand; so that consequently, in many cases the prediction in itself, as given by God, may be true, and yet the organ, the man, impart into it a false signification.[1]

Precarious test proposed by Thomas Aquinas.

Prophetic threats not always fulfilled.

Prophets may misinterpret their own true prophecies.

[1] THOMAS AQUINAS draws this out, *Summa*, 2, 2, quæst. 173, art. 4. LAMBERTINI (afterwards Pope Benedict XIV.) elucidates it in his work *De servorum Dei beatificatione*, Padua, 1743, III., 443, with reference to S. Bernard's unhappy attempt at prophecy. The Pope says, moreover, "Fieri potest, ut aliquis sanctus ex anticipatis opinionibus aut

It was not until the great ecclesiastical and political movement in the second half of the eleventh century, that individual men, raised up by the waves of this movement, were led on in the confidence of their heart to attempt the foretelling of specific events. When a man fancied that he lived in an atmosphere of miracles, he easily persuaded himself that he also possessed the gift of prophecy, and such a man was exposed to the temptation of predicting a much-wished-for event, or one, in his opinion, necessary to the plan of divine government in the world. It must be owned that those predictions for the most part failed; and this fact may have cooled and deterred others. PETER DAMIANI prophesied the death of the anti-pope Cadalous within the space of a year. Cadalous outlived the year, and Peter had no better reply to make to his numerous mocking opponents than this, that Cadalous had at any rate been deposed by a Synod, which might be called death.[1] Damiani's friend and fellow-combatant,

Exciting times productive of Prophets.

Their want of success.

Peter Damiani on the death of Cadalous.

"ideis in phantasia fixis aliqua sibi a Deo revelata putet, quæ a Deo "revelata non sunt." [Aquinas concludes thus:—"Cum ergo aliquis "cognoscit se moveri a spiritu sancto ad aliquid æstimandum, vel sig- "nificandum verbo, vel facto, hoc proprie ad prophetiam pertinet. "Cum autem movetur, sed non cognoscit (as in the case of Caiaphas, "JOHN xi. 49–52), non est perfecta prophetia, sed quidam instinctus "propheticus. Sciendum tamen, quod quia mens prophetæ est instru- "mentum deficiens, ut dictum est, etiam veri prophetæ non omnia "cognuscunt, quæ in eorum visis, aut verbis, aut etiam factis Spiritis "sanctus intendit." And in a note is added "Ad verum enim pro- "phetam sufficit cognoscere evidenter quod prophetat secundum id "quod est sibi revelatum."]

[1] PETRI DAMIANI, *Opera*, III., 410, ed. Bassan.

Gregory VII. on the death of Henry IV.

Pope Gregory VII., prophesied publicly, Easter, 1080, that the German Emperor Henry would die or be deposed, if he did not submit before the first of June; if this did not come to pass, men were not to believe him, the Pope, any more. The event gave him also the lie.[1] But the later chroniclers, who wished to save for the Pope, as High Priest of Truth, the Caiaphas-right of prophesying, even against his own intention, knew how to get out of the difficulty. The chronicle of San-Bavo[2] relates, that the Pope had merely declared how it had been revealed to him by God, that the false King would die that year. The Pope meant Henry, but the false king was Rudolf, who actually did die at the time.

S. Bernard on the success of a new Crusade.

It caused great excitement in the whole of Europe, that it should happen to so highly revered a man, and so celebrated a saint as S. Bernard, to be proved a false Prophet. At the bidding of Pope Eugenius III. he had preached a new Crusade in France and Germany, and promised it, in God's name, victory and success. The very opposite took place. By famine, pestilence, and the sword of the Saracens, the army was utterly destroyed; the whole West was thrown into mourning, and Bernard saw himself exposed to the grievous charges of deceit, and seduction of

[1] Bonizo, in Oefele, *Script. rer. Boic.*, i., 819.

[2] In the *Corpus Chronicorum Flandriæ*, ed. de Smet. Brussels, 1837, i., 564.

the people. He could only say, that the order of the Pope had been accounted by him as a command from God; the Pope must answer instead of him.[1] And it can scarcely have sufficed him as a consolation, when the Abbot John of Casa-Maria informed him, that the guardian Saints of his monastery, the Martyrs SS. John and Paul, had appeared and revealed, that for this end God had permitted the destruction of the Christian army, in order that the places of the fallen Angel-host in Paradise might be filled up by the souls of Christian warriors, who lost their lives in this campaign.[2]

[1] [Quam confusi pedes annuntiantium pacem, annuntiantium bona. Diximus, Pax, et non est pax: promisimus bona, et ecce turbatio. Quasi vero temeritate in opere isto, aut levitate usi simus. Cucurrimus plane in eo, non quasi in incertum, *sed jubente te, imo per te Deo.* * * * * Sed dicunt forsitan isti: Unde scimus quod a Domino sermo egressus sit? Quæ signa tu facis, ut credamus tibi? Non est quod ad ista ipse respondeam: parcendum verecundiæ meæ. *Responde tu pro me, et pro te ipso, secundum ea quæ audisti, et vidisti; aut certe secundum quod tibi inspiraverit Deus.* S. Bernardi *Opera*, ed. Mabillon, I., i. pp. 1021, 1023. *De Consideratione.* Lib. II., i. § 1, 3. Elsewhere Bernard lays the blame of the ill-success of the Crusade on the leaders of it. Væ principibus nostris. In terra Domini nihil boni fecerunt. . . . . Potentes sunt ut faciant mala, bonum autem facere nequeunt. Confidimus autem quia non repellet Dominus plebem suam, et hæreditatem suam non dereliquet. Porro dextera Domini faciet virtutem, et brachium suum auxiliabitur ei: ut cognoscant omnes quia bonum est sperare in Domino, quam sperare in principibus. Epistola 288. Ad Andream avunculum suum, militem Templi. Ib. I., i. p. 573.]

[2] *Epistolæ* S. Bernardi, ed. Mabillon, ep. 386, Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, III., 273, has grossly misunderstood this in the sense of an ἀποκατάστασις. [In the *Life of S. Bernard* (Lib. III., iv. § 10, auctore Gaufrido) we find the same view of the catastrophe as that taken by Abbot John of Casa-Maria. Nec tamen ex illa profectione Orientalis Ecclesia liberari, sed cœlestes meruit impleri et lætari. . . . . Quis recte sapiens, illorum magis non doleat, qui ad priora, vel pejora forte prioribus scelera redierunt, quam eorum mortem, qui in fructibus pœnitentiæ purgatas variis tribulationibus Christo animas reddiderunt.]

VINCENT FERRER on the speedy appearance of Antichrist.

VINCENT FERRER,[1] in the beginning of the fifteenth century, was almost as highly revered in South-western Europe as a saintly man and a preacher of truth, as Bernard in his time. Vincent regarded himself as having received a special call to announce the great fact, that the public appearance of Antichrist would come to pass in a few years, so that mankind might make preparations for the severe contest. He knew for certain, as he wrote to Pope Benedict XIII., that Antichrist was already nine years old; it had been simultaneously revealed to many; demons, compelled by exorcisms, had confessed it.[2] The eloquent Dominican, no doubt, died in the firm belief that within a few years men would have palpable proof of the truth of his prediction; and it cost his brother-Dominican Antoninus and others some trouble to rescue the honour of the Prophet from the reproach of presumption and superstition.

S. CATHERINE OF SIENNA on a new Crusade, and on a Reformation of the Church.

S. CATHERINE OF SIENNA was accredited by her contemporaries with the faculty of prophecy, just as two centuries earlier it had been attributed to the German Hildegard. But it was destined for posterity to discover, that not to her either had any prophetic sight into the future development of the world's history been granted. She foresaw a

[1] [A Spanish Dominican preacher of Valencia, confessor and master of the palace to Benedict XIII. He died 1419, and was canonized 1455. Several of his works have been published.]

[2] The main portion of Vincent's letter is found in MALVENDA, *De Antichristo*, I., 120.

1370–1378. great and general Crusade for the conquest of Palestine, and exerted herself to influence Pope Gregory XI. to command one. The Crusade never took place. She announced, that soon a great and thorough reformation of the whole Church would come to pass.[1] The Bride (that is, the Church), she says, who now is foully disfigured and in rags, will then shine bright with beauty and jewels, and be crowned with the diadem of all virtues. All believing peoples will rejoice at having such noble and holy pastors, and the unbelieving peoples, allured by this glory of the Church, will be converted to her. How far have these wishes, transformed into prophecies, of the pious virgin of Sienna been from finding accomplishment! Instead of the great renewal, of the conversion of unchristian peoples, of splendid holiness, a long series of ruinous wars of religion, and a lasting sundering of those nations which are greatest in strength and in vitality.

S. Brigitta on the ruin of the Church.

Thus S. Brigitta had more rightly prophesied only a few years previously. As organ of the Blessed Virgin, she proclaimed a mighty overthrow (ruina) of the Church to be approaching, and described the rents in the walls, the pillars bowed down to the earth, the clefts in the floor, and so forth.[2] But even S. Catherine herself seems to have believed that the renewal of the Church in

[1] *Acta Sanctorum*, Bolland, April, III., 924.
[2] *Revelations*, 78, p. 293, ed. Antwerp.

any case would not come about through the Papal Chair; for she declared positively that, if a Pope should attempt to reform the brutalized clergy, a great division would go right through the whole Church.[1]

Two opposite views prevalent in the 14th and 15th centuries. 1. That a reform in the Church is imperative;

There are mainly two opposite currents which go through the souls of those who feel themselves prophetically inspired in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. On the one hand the idea, which had its root deep in the religious consciousness of all, that the condition of the Church was utterly intolerable, and that nothing but the hope of a great reformation near at hand could maintain and support the otherwise failing faith in the truth of Christianity. On the other hand, however, there was also the feeling that the means of effecting this renewal were nowhere to be seen, and that just in the place from which they might have been expected to come, namely Rome, neither inclination nor capacity for it existed. Hence it came to pass that individuals, as, for example, WILLIAM OF S. AMOUR,[2] RYCKEL,[3] JACOBUS DE PARADISO,[4] declared

2. That it is impossible.

[1] Facient tunc scandalum universale toti ecclesiæ Dei quod tanquam hæretica pestis scindet et tribulabit eam. p. 925.

[2] [See p. 123.]

[3] [Dionysius a Ryckel or de Leewis, born at Ryckel in the diocese of Liege, a Carthusian monk and most voluminous writer. He wrote a commentary on the whole Bible in seven folio volumes, Cologne, 1533, a commentary on Dionysius Areopagita, Cologne, 1536, eight books, *De Fide Catholica*, &c., &c. He died about 70 years of age, 1471.]

[4] [Also a Carthusian; doctor at Erfurth, 1457; author of a number of tracts on ecclesiastical and religious subjects.]

in hopelessness and despair, that really the Church had no longer a future; it would continue in its utter depravity until the appearance of Antichrist, which must now be very near. Others, however, on the contrary—and they appear to have formed the majority—confidently predicted a thorough purification and renewal of the Church, for it was impossible that its Founder should leave it in this crippled state to perish with hunger; but at the same time, in harmony with the predominant popular view, they expected that a bloody tribunal, a fierce prosecution of the clergy, and above all, of the hierarchy, as the chief offenders, would precede the restoration of the Church. Very frequently in the case of men, who were intellectually very gifted, it was the yearning for better things, which was father to the prophecy. The present appeared to them to be intolerable. It was agonizing to them to see the contrast which existed between the circumstances which surrounded them and the demands for a time, which they thought themselves compelled to represent in accordance with their preconceived notions, with their religious belief, with their love for their country. As with peoples, so with individuals. With this yearning, however, was wont to be associated the presentiment that the age was lying in travail-pangs, and that the human race was standing on the verge of a great reaction and of new formations. SAVONAROLA himself at first shrank from the impulse to take

Even the most hopeful expect that heavy retribution will precede the reform.

In most cases "the wish was father to the thought."

SAVONAROLA'S unwillingness to be accounted a Prophet.

the office of a Prophet; but it gradually became too powerful in him, and ruled all his thoughts and aspirations. "I do not wish," he said, "to be "accounted a Prophet. That is a name difficult "and perilous to bear, making a man very unquiet, "and exciting many persecutions against him, "although, for the love of Christ, these may "willingly be borne."[1] "You are making me," he cries later on to the Florentines, "you are "making me a Prophet by force.[2] The sins "of Italy force open my mouth. An inward "fire consumes my bones and compels me to "speak."

How different from Savonarola, and yet at the same time akin to him, is another Prophet of the Dominican Order, the gifted, learned, deep-thinking CAMPANELLA! In his case also the office of a Prophet was to go hand in hand with efforts in politics. A Calabrian by birth, the misfortunes of his narrow fatherland Calabria, as also the condition of the whole of Italy, then lying low under the oppression of Spain, touched him to the heart. He saw his people degraded through a dominion which, to use the expression of a recent expert in Italian affairs, was the most wretched which perhaps has ever existed in Christian times.[3] Southern

CAMPANELLA (1568–1639)

[1] *Compendium revelationum*, p. 274.

[2] So in his *Prediche fatte l'anno del* 1496, f. 359.

[3] Confer *Ganganelli, seine Briefe und seine Zeit*, by the author of the *Römische Briefe* (REUMONT), Berlin, 1847, p. 32.

Italy was to become a Republic under the theocratic dominion of the Pope; and in order to win partisans and sworn confederates, he prophesied, on the authority of Joachim, S. Brigitta, Savonarola, and his interpretation of the *Apocalypse*, a great change in Italy for the year 1600. He too said, by the way, like Savonarola, "I am not "making myself a Prophet or a worker of miracles; "but perchance I see something great."[1] His undertaking, soon betrayed, failed. He passed twenty-seven years in fifty different prisons, and was tortured some seven times, till he at last found an asylum in France.[2] Did the external peace of Italy in the course of the year 1600 undeceive him with regard to his prophecies? In the beautiful and touching poems, in which he breathes out all the changing states of feeling produced by his long life of imprisonment, his anguish and his hope, his trust in God, and his despair, he turns himself complainingly to God;—"Shall then the host of "Prophets, that Thou sendest,[3] lie?"—"Why dost "Thou let the stars and the Prophets, gifts of "Thine, agree to teach deceit?"[4] In his book on the *Spanish Monarchy*, which he likewise wrote in prison, Campanella shows himself to have still a

exhibits a similar feeling.

[1] So in the Prœmium to his *Atheismus triumphatus* in Struvii *Collectanea Manuscriptorum*, Jena, 1713, II., 68.

[2] [Under Cardinal Richelieu, who allowed him a pension. He died in Paris, 1639.]

[3] *Poesie filosifiche di Campanella*, pubbl. da G. C. Orelli. Lugano, 1834. *Madrigale*, VIII., p. 161.

[4] *Madrigale*, I., p. 144.

belief in prophecy,[1] and says that S. Brigitta predicted the discovery of America.

Dionysius Ryckel, the "Ecstatic Doctor."

A man, in whom may be traced with peculiar distinctness the gradual ascendency of the reflective faculty, and of the affections of pain and sorrow generated by it, ending at last in prophetic vision, is Dionysius Ryckel (or Leewis), who has been called the ecstatic Doctor of the Church, a priest of the deepest and most earnest piety, and at the same time the most learned theologian of his age. Like all far-seeing men in Germany, like his friend and patron Nicolas of Cusa, he took his stand altogether at the ecclesiastical point of view, that Councils are indispensable and supreme over Popes. All his hopes, like those of every one else, rested on the meeting of a new Council; while he at the same time said that the Popes were exerting all their dexterity and power to prevent this. His incessant and agonizing meditations on the condition of the world and the Church became a vision and a revelation (in the year 1461), and he learns in converse with the Almighty, what was the product of his own reflections, that the measure of the punishment and retribution to be inflicted would be exactly dealt out according to the

[1] [He used to hear, as he tells us, a voice calling him by his name, and sometimes with other words, whenever any evil was impending; he doubted whether this was his own dæmon, or (in accordance with his philosophy, which endued all things with consciousness) the air itself speaking. Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, II., p. 375.]

measure of ecclesiastical corruption.[1] "The Church," he is told, "hath almost utterly turned away from "me and lost its comeliness. In the greater part "thereof, from head to foot, there is no soundness in "it any more. As for the heads thereof, were they "even to swear an oath to amend themselves, "surely they would swear falsely." It was the time (1461) of the vain attempt of Pope Pius II. to bring about a Christian campaign against the Turks after the loss of Constantinople; and Dionysius prophesied that all these efforts must come to nothing, just as in fact was the case. So far from their succeeding, people even expected, with a certain profound feeling of culpability, that an invading army of Turks would within a short time overflood the Latin and Teutonic West as well.

He rightly predicts that the Crusade proposed by Pius II. will come to nothing.

Nicolas of Cusa.

Ryckel's contemporary and friend, the most profound thinker of his time, Cardinal Nicolas of Cusa, like him became a Prophet, without exactly claiming for his predictions a higher measure of illumination. Cusa also saw through the deep corruption of the Church and its main cause, viz. the despotism and covetousness of the Papacy at that time; and hence he too came to the conviction, to which, after he had outlived the miscarriage of the reforming Councils, he gave utterance as a prophecy;—that the Church would sink still deeper, so that at last she would seem to be extinguished

[1] *Opuscula insigniora Dionysii Carthusiani, Doctoris ecstatici.* Cologne, 1559. p. 747. In this place are found the three revelations.

and even the succession of S. Peter and the other Apostles to die out.[1] Then, however, she would triumphantly raise herself once more in the sight of all doubters.[2]

Others have been visionary Prophets. The future was shown to them only in symbolical visions, but in such a way, that they forthwith conceived an inward certainty respecting the meaning of these representations. Such were the Dominican ROBERT OF UFEZ, at the end of the thirteenth century, and the German priest and founder of an Order, BARTHOLOMEW HOLZHAUSER, in the middle of the seventeenth century. His Order state respecting Robert, that from his youth he was endowed with a prophetic spirit, which had always accompanied him. He was formally examined respecting this point at an assembly of the Order at Carcassone in the year 1293, and as his answers appeared to be satisfactory, he was allowed to wander through France, Italy, and Germany as preacher and Prophet. While it is specially the corruption of the Church and of the Papal See that Robert of Ufez beholds in symbols, in the visions of Holzhauser it is the yearnings of a spirit cramped up in a narrow sphere that are reflected, a spirit that would correct the history of the world, because

Visionaries.

Robert of Ufez.

Bartholomew Holzhauser.

[1] "Nulla major difformitas ab aliquo poterit exoriri, quam ab illo "qui suæ magnæ potestatis intuitu licere sibi cuncta credens, in sub-"ditorum jura prorumpet," are his words, *De Concord. cathol.*, 2, 27, p. 759, ed. Basil.

[2] *Opera*, ed. Basil, p. 933.

the course and consequences of the Thirty-years' War had shaped themselves altogether differently from what they ought to have done according to his view. His commentary on the *Apocalypse*, which formerly had many readers who believed it, is written in the same spirit.

VI

COSMOPOLITAN PROPHECIES

ON turning to that kind of prophecy, which has been called cosmopolitan, we find that its history up to the close of the Middle Ages may be divided into four periods. The first period reaches from the time of Charles the Great to the end of the twelfth century. The second era, the Joachimite, extends over the thirteenth and half the fourteenth century. The third division consists of the dark century from 1347 to about 1450; which was the time of the Black Death, of the schism in the Papacy, of the hopes which flashed up and soon sank down again into darkness, of a renovation of the Church by means of Councils. Then follows the fourth epoch of prophecies, which comprises an era of about sixty-seven years, from 1450 to the year 1517. In this epoch prophecy is almost entirely taken up with thoughts of the retribution which was just bursting over Rome, Popes, and Clergy, and with cravings for reformation in the

Four periods of such prophecies.

1. 800–1200.

2. Joachimite period, 1200–1347.

3. 1347–1450.

4. 1450–1517.

Church, so that prophetic expectation at last became the general mental attitude and the saving anchor of faith to all earnest religious spirits.

First period. Expectations of Antichrist.

In the first period, in the ninth and tenth centuries and to the middle of the eleventh, it is still the appearing of Antichrist and the nearness of the end of the world, towards which the expectant gaze of men is almost exclusively directed. Neither the life peculiar to large towns nor a popular literature had as yet been developed, and no very considerable centres of intellectual life were yet in existence. Hence we know besides little else but the circle of ideas peculiar to the cloister, where men looked neither backwards nor forwards, and where they drew their conclusions with regard to the short duration of the world for the most part only from presages,—from physical or moral phenomena, which they did not comprehend. The ends to which the world itself was working, and its historical progress in civilization, they neither anticipated nor understood. Thus it was a fundamental idea of this and the following age, that the stability and continuance of the existing order of the world was inseparably connected with the duration of the Roman Empire, as renewed or handed on in the Carlovingians, and after their extinction transferred to Germany and her kings. And it was for this reason that it was called the *Holy* Roman Empire of the German nation, because it was accounted as the all-sus-

Circle of ideas chiefly monastic.

The continuance of the world believed to be linked with the continuance of the Roman Empire.

taining key-stone of the Christian dispensation in the world, which then, and then only, could be thrown down from its place, when the process of the world's dissolution began. So long as this Empire endured, and the nations did not fall away from it, the end of all things was still far distant. Such was men's belief, such their assertion. And so that general dread or expectation, that Antichrist would appear and the end of all things draw nigh (appropinquante mundi termino, as the formula sometimes runs), may have troubled men's minds about the beginning of the eleventh century not merely because a thousand years of Christian history had run out, but much more because that Empire, which Otto I. had raised to so brilliant a position of power, seemed with the death of his grandson, the third Otto, who departed powerless from the world, ready to fall in pieces.

Leading Prophets.

The leading prophetic authorities of this time are METHODIUS, who came from the Byzantine East, and S. HILDEGARD. Under the name of that celebrated Bishop of Patara in Lycia, who suffered martyrdom in the persecution of Diocletian, the *Revelations* came to light first, no doubt, in Constantinople, and probably in the eleventh century. The author's name was certainly not Methodius, as has been supposed, but he put his testimony into the mouth of that church teacher, because he had written a celebrated commentary on the *Apocalypse*. The treatise was adapted to the Byzantine Greeks,

METHODIUS, Bishop of Patara,

not the author of the prophecies which bear his name,

and was intended to inspire them with consolation, courage, and hope, under the visibly increasing weakness of their Empire and the supremacy of Muhammadanism, then dominant through the whole of Asia. Methodius proclaims victory and conquest to the Ishmaelites (the Arabs) bursting forth from the deserts. God lends them these victories and permits them to subdue so many Christian lands and peoples in order to punish the sins of the Laity no less than of the Clergy. But the Roman Empire (and by it the author and all his fellow-countrymen understood the Greek or Byzantine-Roman Empire of the East) will nevertheless be overthrown by no one for all eternity; its arms are invincible, and it will at last vanquish all empires. Accordingly an Emperor and his son will suddenly fall upon the Ishmaelites, when they fancy themselves most secure, will wrest from them all the lands which they have hitherto conquered, and will impose a yoke of slavery upon their necks, a hundredfold worse than the one with which they had oppressed the Christians. Finally, the last of the Roman (that is, the Greek) Emperors will withdraw to the liberated Jerusalem, and will there lay down his crown at the foot of Christ. Then come the Last Things,—Gog and Magog, Antichrist and the Last Judgment.

the object of which is to encourage Christians against Islam.

The last victorious Emperor will go to Jerusalem and there abdicate.

This last feature is found in Adso also,

This notion of the abdication of the last Monarch in Jerusalem is found in the West also in a work of the Abbot Adso, written about the year 948

at the request of Queen Gerberga. As the imperial power was not permanently transferred to the Germans until some years later, viz. in the year 961, it is here one of the Frankish kings, who, as the last and most powerful Emperor, will bring the course of history to a close in so pious and humble a way. For—says this Abbot of Moutier-en-Der—the Roman Empire is certainly in the main destroyed; but in the kings of the Franks (and therefore of course in a Carlovingian, for the House of Capet had not yet arisen) it will find a lasting continuation.[1] Adso had no anticipation of a *German* Imperium.

but with him the last great Emperor is a Frank.

Methodius, however, had a considerable influence on the ideas, which people conceived in the West respecting the course of the world's history; for it must have been in the first half of the twelfth century that the diffusion of his writings in a Latin translation took place there. In this translation the Turks were substituted for the Ishmaelites (that is, the Arabs); the Roman Empire and Roman Emperors were naturally made to mean Germany and Italy and the Emperors of German extraction; and hence Methodius is the first source of that idea, so long cherished, even down to more modern times, that the Turks will yet again overrun the whole of Germany and water their steeds in the Rhine. Nevertheless, so early as in Otto of Freising, in the preface to his Chronicle addressed

Methodius' writings spread in the West through a Latin translation.

From him comes the belief that the Turks will again overrun Europe;

[1] The treatise appended to Augustine's Works, ed. Bened., IV., 243.

to the Chancellor Reinold, Methodius is quoted as an authority for belief in the continuance of the Roman Empire, which will not be fully destroyed until the end of time.

also the notion that Gog and Magog will one day band together to destroy Christendom.

Another idea, which penetrated deep into the imagination of the Middle Ages, flowed from the same source. From the *Apocalypse*[1] (xx. 7–9) men learnt, that at the end of time heathen nations from far distant lands, Gog and Magog[2] (Scythians), would gather together against the New Jerusalem and be destroyed. According to the statement of Methodius, Alexander the Great had in days of old shut up the tribes Gog and Magog in the Caspian mountains by a miracle; the mountains, however, will one day open, and then this stream of wild conquerors and destroyers will flow forth

[1] ["And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together in battle; the number of whom is as the sand of the sea. And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city: and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them."]

[2] [There appears to be an etymological connection between these two names, but nothing can be affirmed with certainty. Gog would seem to contain the original element, which is perhaps a Persian root. In *Gen.* x. 2, Magog is a person, son of Japheth; in *Ezek.* xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 1, 6, a country or people, of which Gog was prince, usually identified with the Scythians. The strong imagery employed by Ezekiel in describing this terrible nation has been transferred in *Revelation* to the final contest between Christ and Antichrist. In the Koran Gog and Magog are placed north of the Caucasus. From the earliest times there seems to have been a legend that the enemies of religion and civilization lived in that quarter. See HAXTHAUSEN'S *Tribes of the Caucasus*, cited in SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible*, article "Magog."]

over the world. Herein lies an anticipation of the great inroad of the Mongols in the thirteenth century; but the story is found as early as in the Syrian poems of a Jacobite at the end of the sixth century. And there too it is God Himself, who will one day open the gates of rock to the destruction of the nations.[1] Then the Chronicle of ALBERIC notices on the year 1227,[2] that the Minorite PETER OF BORETH had sent word from Acre, that Antichrist was already growing up and in March would be ten years old. But he adds the remark, that this cannot be true, for the Tower of Babel must first be built again, the closed-up Caspian mountains must be opened, the river Ethan must flow, the idol of Muhammad fall to pieces, and therefore Islamism be extinguished or rooted out.

Variations in the prophecy respecting the Last Things.

But the Latin text of Methodius must, as regards the Last Things, have run very differently. The version, that the last Emperor, of Frankish origin, would go to Jerusalem, lay down his crown on the Mount of Olives and there die, is certainly not to be found in the original Greek. It is borrowed from the treatise of the monk Adso, of the tenth century, which in the Middle Ages was generally held to be a work of RABANUS, ARCHBISHOP OF MAYENCE. But this episode also was not always the same. According to ENGELBERT OF ADMONT,[3]

[1] *The Revelation of Jesus* by JOHN HOOPER. London, 1861, II., 438.
[2] In the *Recueil des historiens de la France*, XXI., 596.
[3] *De ortu et fine Romani imperii* in the Biblioth. PP. Lugdun. XXV. 378.

says Methodius, the last Emperor, being unable to withstand the Ishmaelites (that is, the Muhammadans), will lay down sceptre, crown, and shield upon a withered tree, on the other side of the flood, and in the same place give up his life. So that, according to this, the history of the world (before Antichrist) would actually close with a great victory of Islam over believers in Christ—a disheartening, doubt-engendering notion, which causes Engelbert himself to remark that the doctors did not indeed venture to cast it aside, out of reverence for the holy martyr (the pretended author), but nevertheless did not give it much weight. At any rate it has not been retained in the manuscripts; for in the printed[1] edition the Last Things run quite differently. The Ishmaelites or Turks are utterly conquered and reduced to subjection by the Emperor; but the Christians then, in a long and only too happy state of peace and prosperity, fall into carnal security and luxury, until Gog and Magog make a frightful massacre among them: whereupon the Roman King withdraws to Golgotha, takes the crown from his head, lays it on the cross, and surrenders the Empire of the Christians to God the Father. Thus then at least the shame of a final defeat of the Christians at the hands of their old hereditary enemy, the Turks, was averted; and Methodius continued to

In one version the world comes to an end with a victory of Islam over Christendom.

[1] In the *Orthodoxographa*, Basle, 1555, p. 397, and in the published edition of SEBASTIAN BRANDT. Basle, 1504.

be, especially for the Germans, a book of consolation and hope. SEBASTIAN BRANDT says in his preface of the year 1497, that he put it in print because, as he hoped, the triumph promised in it of the Christian Republic over unbelievers and Turks was very near. And again in the year 1518 came the exhortation to the Emperor Maximilian;[1]—

Hopes of Sebastian Brandt.

> Kaiser, schick dich, Gott will dir helf,
> Dass du die armen Christenwelf
> Widerumb bringest zu einem recht;
> Das hat dir Gott den seinen knecht
> Zu schanen manigvalt gesanut,
> Methodius war er genant;[2]

and then comes the further statement, that it is prophesied of an Emperor Maximilian, that he will fill the Holy Land with the Christian faith. One more of the many hopes which still remain unfulfilled.

In a treatise, which the Dominicans composed in the year 1474, in order to calm the mind of Christendom, terrified as it was by the fall of Constantinople,[3] Methodius is again the chief authority,

Dominicans quote Methodius to counteract the effect of the loss of Constantinople.

[1] In LILIENCRON, III., 215.

[2] [Which is thus rendered by Professor H. B. Smith:—

> Give ear, O King, for God hath called
> That thou the suffering Christian world
> May'st bring again unto its right.
> How oft to arm thee to the fight,
> Hath He His holy servant sent,
> Methodius, to this intent.]

[3] *Tractatus quidam de Turcis, prout ad præsens ecclesia sancta ab eis affligitur.* Nuremberg, 1481.

—the "Doctor Authenticus,"[1] as he is here called, —of course not in the form in which Engelbert read him, but in the more comforting text. Several Fathers, we are here told, have subjected Methodius to a careful examination, the results of which are then given. Germany and France will indeed be devastated by internal wars, but yet will not fall under the Turkish yoke. Whether Rome also would be conquered by the Turks, was briefly asked of Christ by an enlightened monk, to whom divine revelations had been granted; but Christ had answered, that it was as yet not wholesome that he should be told this, nor yet who should be conqueror in the next Turkish war.

S. HILDEGARD, 1098–1180.

The first in the series of Prophets of a later age is S. HILDEGARD, of Bingen on the Rhine. This German Prophetess certainly stands quite alone in the whole of Christian history, a phenomenon without a parallel. No Prophet has ever acquired so high a reputation; no Saint has ever won such general acknowledgment, such unbounded reverence;[2]—not even S. Bernard, who did homage to her as one to whom higher things had been vouchsafed; though she too was not spared attacks, suspicions, and even mockery and contempt. She

Her immense reputation.

[1] "Qui pro fide mancipatus carceribus angelo sibi revelante librum "conscripsit" is added. Accordingly every word must of course be considered as infallibly certain and still in course of fulfilment.

[2] "Famosissima illa prophetissa Novi Testamenti, cum quâ familiariter locutus est Deus." So the author of the Vita Sancti Gerlaci, *Acta Sanctorum*, 5 Januar. c. 8.

herself and her revelations were examined before a great assembly of the Church, under the presidency of Pope Eugenius III., and approved as genuine and true. Three Popes, two Emperors, many Bishops and Abbots, sought her advice, and hoped through her to be admitted to a participation in the divine counsels; and it is remarkable how, in the letters addressed to her by the Popes Eugenius, Anastasius, and Adrian IV., a tone of sincere humility, and confession of their own shortcomings and dereliction of duty, prevails.[1] And at that time Bernard also dared to write his book, *De Consideratione*, and to warn the Popes (though it must be owned in vain) of their fearful error in straying into the path of despotism and centralization, on which they had already entered.[2] Hilde-

Her revelations approved by Pope and Synod.

[1] When, for instance, Eugenius III. writes to her, that he rejoices, that in these times God enlightens her with His Spirit, and has granted to her so much knowledge; "sed quid nos ad hæc dicere valemus, qui "clavim scientiæ habentes, ita quod claudere et aperire possimus et hoc "prudenter facere per stultitiam negligimus."

[2] [The Pope's whole time is taken up, says S. Bernard, with lawsuits. "Quæso te, quale est istud, de mane usque ad vesperam litigare, "aut litigantes audire? Et utinam sufficeret diei malitia sua! non "sunt liberæ noctes. Vix relinquitur necessitati naturæ, quod cor-"pusculi pausationi sufficiat; et rursus ad jurgia surgitur. Dies diei "eructat lites, et nox nocti indicat malitiam." "Numquid ad eum de "toto orbe confluebant ambitiosi, avari, simoniaci, sacrilegi, concu-"binarii, incestuosi, et quæque istiusmodi moustra hominum, ut ipsius "apostolica auctoritate vel obtinerent honores ecclesiasticos, vel retine-"rent?" "Habent hæc infima et terrena judices suos, reges et prin-"cipes terræ. Quid fines alienos invaditis? Quid falcem vestram in "alienam messem extenditis? Non quia indigni vos, sed quia indig-"num vobis talibus insistere, quippe potioribus occupatis." "Plena est "ambitiosis Ecclesia; non est jam quod horreat in studiis et moliti-"onibus ambitionis, non plus quam spelunca latronis in spoliis viato-

Hildegard a true German in her strong indignation at the immorality of the Clergy.

gard was to this extent a true German Prophetess, in that by her the degeneracy and iniquity of a Hierarchy, at once insatiably greedy of wealth and lavishly careless of human life, was depicted with that fulness of moral indignation against such abuse of holy things, which is innate in the German races much more than in the Latin; and these facts had not yet developed themselves to such an extent in her time, but from the thirteenth century onwards became notorious enough. The time would come, she declared, in which Princes and peoples would set at nought the Papacy, because they perceived in it no religion any more. Then would individual countries prefer the heads of their own Church to the Pope; while the latter would find himself confined, with authority very much diminished, to Rome and the few surrounding towns.[1] The splitting up of the German Empire was also foretold by Hildegard. Each people and each race would set up its own Princes, under the pretext, "that the greatness of the Empire had "been to them more of a burden than an honour;" and this very division and weakening of the Empire

She foretells the splitting up of the German Empire.

"rum." *De consideratione*, Lib. I., iii., iv., vi., x. Eleven years before he had written no less strongly to Honorius II. "Vox una ominium, "qui fideli apud nos cura populis præsunt, justitiam in Ecclesia deperire, "annullari Ecclesiæ claves, episcopalem omnino vilescere auctoritatem, "&c. Causam referunt in vos, curiamque Romanam." Epist. 178. See MORISON'S *Life of S. Bernard*. London, 1868. pp. 198, 420.]

[1] Quia enim nec principes nec reliqui homines tam spiritalis quam sæcularis ordinis in Apostolico nomine ullam religionem tunc invenient dignitatem nominis illius tunc imminuent, &c. *Liber divinorum operum*, in BALUZE, *Miscellanea*, ed. MANSI, II., 447.

would then be followed by the downfall of the papal dignity.

From her comes the anticipation of a heavy nemesis on the Clergy.

It is undeniably due in a great measure to Hildegard, that the expectation of a heavy retribution on the clergy, and of a bloody persecution of the Priesthood, had, in the Middle Ages, so fast a hold on the spirit of the German nation. She herself foretold a great and thorough secularization of Church-property, and the reduction of the Clergy, corrupted as they were by wealth and cupidity, to a moderate and more equally divided income. In a poem of the fifteenth century, on the Council of Constance, it is said of her representations respecting simony and clerical luxury[1]—

> Wie hat den schädlich kläglich Lauf
> Gesait von Bingen Hiltgart
> In Ihrem Buch, die witz, die zart,
> Wer ir Buch liest, dass man's wol brüst.[2]

Italy most productive of Prophets, especially between 1200 and 1400.

However, the country in which the existence of Prophets, especially after the commencement of the thirteenth century and continuously to the close of the fourteenth, increased with the most luxurious growth, was Italy. In no other country was life at that time so rich and varied, in none was there such a struggle of rival forces and rival passions.

[1] Liliencron, *Historische Volkslieder*, I., 248.

[2] [Thus rendered by Professor H. B. Smith:—

> How sadly their course hath marred
> From Bingen saith Saint Hildegarde,
> Within her book of wit and taste,
> Who reads, hath well the truth embraced!]

The struggles between Empire and Papacy, France and Germany, Guelf and Ghibelline afforded materials.

It was there that Empire and Papacy, for now more than two centuries, had been fighting with one another like two giants; it was there that France and Germany, now in secret, now openly, contended for the supremacy. The irreconcilable strife between the two parties of the Guelfs and the Ghibellines went through the whole of upper and central Italy, and no one, high or low, could remain aloof from it. While the leaders gave themselves up to astrology (not unfrequently, as in the case of Frederick and Ezzelino, keeping court-astronomers), and undertook nothing of importance without having inquired as to the favourable constellation, the people comforted themselves with prophetic sayings. Guelfs as well as Ghibellines had prophecies of their own. Merlin and Sibyl were made to lend their now typical names to the ever fresh appearing products of the prophetic impulse, which had such power among the people. MICHAEL SCOTT,[1] the Emperor Frederick's astrologer, ASDENTA OF PARMA, but, above all, JOACHIM, stood in high repute. Sibylline prophecies were all the more firmly believed, in that people fancied that the Sibylline Books were still preserved in the Lateran Church at Rome.[2] Scott and Asdenta are placed by DANTE among the damned, as false Prophets; and he represents the latter, the shoemaker

Princes had their astrologers, the people their Prophets.

Michael Scott and Asdenta of Parma.

[1] [See the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Canto II., xiii.–xxii., and the notes quoted by CARY, *Inferno*, XX., 115, note 9.]

[2] HUILLARD BRÉHOLLES, Preface to his edition of the *Chronicon Placentinum*. Paris, 1856, p. xxxvi.

of Parma, repenting in hell that he had not stuck to his handicraft.[1] But the contemporary SALIMBENE relates, that he found much in him that afterwards came to pass; and that Asdenta also educated himself for a Prophet merely by diligent reading of what were then the classics among prophetical writings, viz. Methodius and Joachim, along with the sayings of Merlin, Scott, and the Sibyl.[2]

In Germany Hildegard remained for a long time without a successor. From the time of her death to near the end of the thirteenth century, or even into the fourteenth, no movements worth naming

Dearth of prophetic and other literature in Germany, 1180–1400.

[1] ["Quell' altro che ne' fianchi è così poco,
Michele Scotto fu, che veramente
Delle magiche frode seppe il giuoco.
Vedi Guido Bonatti, vedi Asdente,
Che avere inteso al cuoio ed allo spago
Ora vorebbe, ma tardi si pente.
Vedi le triste che lasciaron l'ago,
La spola e'l fuso, e fecersi indovine;
Fecer malìe con erbe e con imago."
Inferno, xx. 115–123.

"The next, who is so slender in the flanks,
Was Michael Scott, who of a verity
Of magical illusions knew the game.
Behold Guido Bonatti, behold Asdente,
Who now unto his leather and his thread
Would fain have stuck, but he too late repents.
Behold the wretched ones, who left the needle,
The spool and rock, and made them fortune-tellers;
They wrought their magic spells with herb and image."
LONGFELLOW'S Translation.

In the *Convito*, IV., 16, Dante says that "if those who were best known "were accounted the most noble, Asdente, the shoemaker of Parma, "would be more noble than any one in that city."—See Cary's *Notes*.]

[2] SALIMBENE, *Chron.*, p. 284, in the *Monumenta Hist. Parmens.* Parma, 1857.

of a prophetic impulse and spirit among the Germans have been anywhere preserved to us. It must be owned, that German literature is also very scanty from the middle to the end of the thirteenth century, whether in the Latin or the German language; and what we possess in the way of historical monuments and chronicles of this period is more scanty and fragmentary still. It was, however, one and the same momentous event, which was equally decisive, equally pregnant with consequences for both countries, Germany and Italy; although at first Italy was plunged to a much greater degree into irremediable confusion through the results of it. This event was the victory of the Papacy over the Empire; the fall and ruin of the House of Hohenstaufen; which was then accompanied by the weakening and splitting up of the Germano-Roman Empire through the deliberate policy of the Popes, in furtherance of the interests of the Curia, the French kings, and the Guelf party in Italy. It was evident how the Popes, especially the French Popes, an Urban IV., a Clement IV., or a Martin IV., did their utmost to prevent any union in Germany, any powerful royal House, any firm and well-ordered government, from being formed. Men soon perceived, that an Emperor, in the true sense of the word, was, in consequence of the conduct of the Popes at the elections, and of the Guelf interest backed up by French tyranny in Southern Italy, becoming more and more of an

Fall of the House of Hohenstaufen a crisis for Germany and Italy.

The Popes deliberately sap the strength of the Empire;

impossibility. And yet it was part of the religious consciousness of the world in that age, which regarded the Empire as an indispensable element, an instrument of the one Catholic Church, that the dissolution of the Empire would lead to a general falling away from the Papal Chair. For the idea of a threefold "discessio" was adopted more and more generally (in accordance with II. *Thess.* ii.);—ab imperio, a sede apostolicâ, a fide. So that it could not fail to appear to many, that the Popes—as if driven on by a fatality, by an irresistible mysterious influence—were labouring to undermine their own power. And then added to this came the conviction, that the downfall of the Empire would be the prelude to the dawn of that tyranny of Antichrist, with all its unspeakable calamities, horrors, and apostasies.

which, however, is still believed to be necessary to the well-being of the Papacy and of the Church.

The judgments pronounced by contemporaries afford us the key to the genesis of prophecies and their influence.

Genesis of prophecies traced in contemporaries.

In *England*, where more historical insight and a better mode of writing history was to be found at that time than in all the rest of Europe, the judgment pronounced was trenchant and pragmatical. The Roman Curia, in order to be sole ruler, has brought matters to this, that the Roman imperial power is hopelessly shattered.[1]

In England historical insight was great.

[1] "Imperium Romanum procurante Curiâ Romanâ, ut sola domi-"naretur, suspenditur desperatum."—*Chron.* JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES *ad annum* 1251. London, 1860.

In Italy a Guelf tone prevails.

In *Italy*, the Sibyl is Guelf and Franco-papal in tone; and proclaims, accordingly, that with the death of Frederick II. the Romano-German imperial power will itself sink into the grave also. The Florentine Guelf, BRUNETTO LATINI, in his work, written in French about 1266, says: "If Merlin "and the Sibyl speak the truth, the imperial dig- "nity must come to an end with Frederick. Never- "theless, I do not know whether one is to under- "stand this merely of his family or of the Germans, "or of all together."[1] We learn, however, from his contemporary and fellow-countryman, SALIMBENE, that the Sibyl expressed herself very distinctly. "In him"—these were her words—"will "the Empire have its end; for, although he shall "have successors, yet they will be deprived of the "title of Emperor and of the Roman supremacy "(fastigium)."[2] Salimbene himself had no doubt that it was determined, in the divine counsels, that from henceforth society should have no more Emperors.

The German standpoint exhibited in the author of the *Notitia Sæculi*;

The standpoint of the *Germans* is shown to us by two contemporaries, the one a man of world-wide experience and great observation, the nameless author of a small treatise[3] of the year 1220, the other, JORDANUS OF OSNABRUCK, in his book on the

[1] *Les livres du Trésor*, ed. CHABAILLE. Paris, 1863. p. 93.

[2] *Chron.*, pp. 167, 378.

[3] The *Notitia Sæculi*, edited by KARAJAN, *Zur Geschichte des Concils von Lyon.* Vienna, 1849.

Roman Empire.[1] "In the space of five years," says the former, "the Roman Empire, which in "the year 1220 was still so powerful, has sunk so "low, that scarcely anyone thinks of it any more. "On the other hand, the Papacy has mounted so "high, that kings, peoples, the whole world, lie "prostrate at the foot of the Pope and do homage "to him as monarch of the world. The Papacy "can scarcely mount higher, without things de- "generating into a complete subjugation of the "laity. Hence the clergy in the service of the "Roman Church have, with the help of the French, "in a great measure destroyed the Roman Empire "(clerici et Gallici nunc parte magnâ romanum "destruxerunt imperium); and should they be "successful in fully accomplishing this work of "destruction, then will that flood of mischief and "ruin burst in, the harbinger of Antichrist, such "as has never been known in the world heretofore. "But in requital for the outrages which the clergy "have already committed against the Empire, a "sentence of retribution will forthwith be pro- "nounced upon a body so deeply infected with the "poison of simony."

and in Jordanus of Osnabrück.

Jordanus expresses himself with more circumspection; but nevertheless he too maintains that to the Roman Empire the great honour has been granted of forming the wall of defence against Antichrist, who cannot come until the Empire be

[1] *Jordanus von Osnabrück*, edited by Waitz. Göttingen, 1868.

fallen down; and hence all those who help forward this downfall, are the precursors and pioneers of Antichrist. Such, therefore, above all are the arch-enemies of the imperial power, the Popes. Accordingly Jordanus goes on to say, that the Romans and their Popes had better look to themselves, lest perchance, through a righteous judgment of God, their dominion should be taken away from them for their wickedness. He gives the like warning to the German princes, who were so eagerly enriching themselves at the expense of the Empire. Cardinal Giacomo Colonna wrote a preface to this treatise of Jordanus, in the year 1281, addressed to Pope Martin IV., who was an unwearying foe of the German, and further, of the French power. In it he gives utterance to the anxious thought;—when, therefore, things have come to this point, that the Roman Church, which has already struck out the usual prayer for the Emperor from the liturgy of the mass, can say, we have no king or emperor but the Pope, then will a great and bloody persecution of the clergy break out.[1]

In Belgium, Dynter.

In much later times the Belgian chronicler, Dynter, addressed a pathetic warning to the Electoral Princes of Germany, that they should earnestly consider the dangers and miseries which would come upon the world after the Roman Empire was done away.[2] This was written in the

[1] Waitz, p. 41.

[2] *Dynteri Chronicon*, ed. de Ram. Brussels, 1854, I., 166.

year 1445, just at the time when Germany, in the Hussite wars, had given to the world the spectacle of its lamentable weakness and of its imperial power reduced to a mere shadow.

In spite of all this, sanguine hopes still survive.

But in the thirteenth century, in spite of all the confusion in Germany and Italy, the hope of a happy reaction in affairs at no distant day was nevertheless still kept up by means of prophecies.

Roger Bacon, 1214–1292, predicts the reign of a good Pope.

Roger Bacon,—after Dante, the most richly gifted and versatile spirit of his age,—wrote in the year 1267, that for the last forty years it had been predicted, and many visions had been granted in confirmation, that a just, true, and holy Pope would arise, to reform and purify the Church, deeply entangled as it was in error. He will purify ecclesiastical legislation, will institute a Christian administration of justice; and through his excellence reunion with the Greek Church, the conversion of the Mongols, and the annihilation of the Saracens will follow.[1] All that, Bacon declares, might happen within the space of a year, or even in a still shorter period, if it pleased God *and the Pope;* and in all earnestness he calls upon Pope Clement IV. to put his hand to the work,—the very Pope, who, as Bacon must well have known, instead of being the institutor of a Christian administration of justice, rather busied himself exclusively with the erection of papal absolutism

1265–1268.

[1] *Rogeri Bacon Opera quædam hactenus inedita*, ed. Brewer. London, 1859. p. 87; confer p. 418.

into a pure despotic supremacy, and with the secure establishment of the tribunal of the Inquisition. But Bacon is of opinion, all is in such an evil plight, that either Antichrist must come, or else a Pope who will purify the Church must arise, and he openly states his belief in the possibility of a great moral and intellectual reaction being accomplished, as it were, at one stroke. And here we cannot but feel astonishment, that even the greatest insight at that time, even minds so unique as Roger Bacon and his contemporary Dante, should have believed in the sudden and complete change of moral tone in whole nations and epochs, and should have possessed so little apprehension of the laws of historical development. This may be explained by the mania for astrology, which prevailed at that time and influenced even these men. The notion was, that the tone and moral bent of an epoch was contingent on a change in the ever-varying position of the stars;[1] that it might, therefore, suddenly spring from one extreme to another,—from virtue

A belief in astrology produces a belief that great moral changes may result from astral changes,

[1] [Throughout the section on astrology in Bacon's *Opus Majus*, the heavenly bodies are supposed to act entirely through their physical properties—cold, heat, moisture, drought, and so forth. Thus he attributes the wars then raging in Europe to the influence of a comet. But the comet causes war, not as a mere arbitrary sign, nor as exerting a magic influence,—all this he rejects as an old woman's superstition,—but as inflaming the blood and passions of men by its intense heat. This of course is a very unscientific and extravagant notion respecting the influences of the heavenly bodies, and the powers of human observation to detect and estimate their effects; but still it differs immeasurably from the ordinary astrology, which made the course of human history dependent on the varying collocation of the stars.—MILMAN *Latin Christianity*, Book XIV., chap. iii., note *k*.]

and piety to corruption and wickedness, and *vice versâ*;—and that this change was accomplished with the fatelike certainty of an inevitable necessity; in which, however, the freedom of the will, and therefore also the power of standing firm and unshaken in the midst of the stream of ruin, was secured to individuals. This influence of the stars was then further turned to account for the prophetic gift. Those persons, it was said, who, owing to their natural temperament, are peculiarly open to receive astral impressions, are ready adapted to become Prophets. They are, as it were, predestined to this by nature, and thus comprehend with all the more certainty the twofold revelation of God, the immediate by means of inspiration, and the mediate by means of the constellations.[1]

and Prophets be produced by astral influences.

Bacon could undoubtedly cite thus much in defence of his position,—that the sudden outbreak of great religious movements was in his time no unheard-of thing. It certainly happened once, that, apparently without any previous agitation, and by an entirely spontaneous impulse in the bosom of the people, a wide-spread conversion took place, and a spirit of repentance and renewal of life revealed itself. Italy, torn to pieces by the fury of factions,[2] had its moments of exhaustion

Certainly sudden and spontaneous outbursts of religious enthusiasm were no unheard-of thing.

[1] Compare what Benedict XIV. quotes on the subject from the writings of an Italian theologian, with the appeal to Albertus Magnus and Aristotle, l. c., p. 436.

[2] [The lives of such monsters as Eccelin da Romano and his brother Alberic; the ferocious cruelty and ferocious suicide of the one, the

and weariness; and men wished to shake off the oppressive nightmare of a party spirit and political hate which poisoned all relations in life, and to be reconciled with one another. Thus in the year 1260[1] the first great pilgrimage of the Flagellants arose under the influence of prophecies. Thousands of penitents, men and women of every age, wandered from town to town, scourging themselves and imploring God's mercy and peace among men. It was as if great towns poured the whole stream of their population—sometimes 12,000 or 20,000 men—into a foreign town. The exiled could return; Ghibellines and Guelfs embraced and were reconciled; many crimes were atoned for. It was

The Flagellants.

insatiable lust and hideous death of the other; the immoralities of the clergy, the horrors of the Inquisition—such were the things with which Religion was confronted when it awoke from its long trance. No wonder it went mad.]

[1] [1260 is the date of their first appearance in Italy. The Brotherhood seems to have arisen first in Hungary, under the name sometimes of Flagellants, sometimes of Brethren of the Cross. In 1249 they first entered Strasburg, a company of 200. Above 1000 joined, and they now became almost a nomad tribe, separating in two hordes, one to wander through North, the other through South Europe. All Germany, Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Silesia, and Flanders, did homage to the mania, and they soon became as formidable to the civil as to the ecclesiastical power. In the early part of the fourteenth century there seems to have been an abatement of these pilgrimages. But in 1334 Venturinus, a Dominican friar of Bergamo, induced about 10,000 persons to undertake a new one; and the frightful ravages of the Black Death in 1348 gave great impetus to this form of fanaticism. But there seems to be good reason for believing that the leaders of these bands of enthusiasts were often the instruments of a secret society, and were acting in concert to promote other objects than those which appeared on the surface.—Hecker's *Epidemics of the Middle Ages*. London, 1859. pp. 30–38. Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Bk. xi., chap. ii.]

a powerful religious effort of the nation towards self-help. But those in power remained unaffected by it. The Pope acted with indifference, or even with hostility towards the movement.[1] And the fire of enthusiasm, which, if well directed and nourished, might have led to the salvation of Italy, very soon died out.

Enthusiasm perished for want of direction and encouragement.

In Bacon's statement we find for the first time the expression of an idea, which afterwards became naturalized in Italy, viz. that of a Papa Angelico, as he was called by a later age;—the expectation set forth in so many subsequent prophecies, that a Pope, who would establish peace and unity, who would purify the Church, and restore to it the freshness of youth, would one day attain to the See of Rome. He was the Italian counterpart to the longed and hoped for Emperor Frederick in Germany. From the time of the great division of the Empire, all the hopes, wishes, and needs of the German races concentrated themselves in the idea of a strong and very powerful Emperor, who would restore again the ruined Empire, humble the now haughty and despotic Papacy, and strip

The idea of a Papa Angelico first appears in Roger Bacon.

[1] [Several Cardinals endeavoured to dissuade him, but Clement VI. issued a bull against the Flagellants, Oct. 20th, 1349. Philip VI., supported by the Sorbonne, forbad their entry into France. Manfred, King of Sicily, threatened them with death; and in other countries they were cruelly persecuted. And not altogether without reason. They set ecclesiastical discipline at defiance, and well-nigh destroyed the influence of the Clergy. And there can be little doubt that these promiscuous and enormous pilgrimages contributed greatly towards the spreading of the Black Death.—*Ibid.*]

the Clergy of their enormous and misapplied wealth.

A belief that Frederick II. still lived survived him for many years.

For ages the belief continued to be cherished in Germany, that Frederick II. was not dead, and many a false Frederick was able to build on the people's fancy, and set himself up as a pretender. When one of these false Fredericks was burnt in the year 1289 at Wetzlar, it was reported among the people, that his bones had not been found in the fire; through the Divine power Frederick was still alive, and was destined to drive out the parsons.[1] When this hope was at last extinguished, prophecy stepped in to take its place, and promised the appearance of a third Emperor Frederick. In various forms it went the course of a century, ran like a red thread through many other prophecies, and in the collections of such vaticinations was wont to take the first place. It was reputed to have proceeded from the most considerable of the Prophets—from Joachim himself. Thus much is certain, that it had a deep and lasting effect. The name of Frederick became in consequence full of significance, and whatever Prince or Monarch bore it excited hopes that he was destined to be the instrument of a great and happy revolution. At first it was a Frederick from the East who was expected; a belief to which the natural son of Frederick II., who was called Frederick of Antioch

When this died out it was replaced by prophecy of another Frederick yet to come.

Assigned to Joachim it had immense influence.

[1] HAGEN'S *Oesterreich. Chronik*, in *Pezii Scriptores rerum Austr.*, I., 1105.

and died in the year 1258, appears to have given occasion. Later on he was called simply Frederick, or the third of this name, the Eagle, who would spread out his wings from sea to sea, or unto the ends of the earth. Through him, or at least in his time, Pope and Clergy were to be imprisoned, scattered abroad, plundered, or even slain. Even in the confessions, which Catharists of south France made before the Inquisition in the year 1321,[1] the expectation which they cherished is declared,—that the third Frederick would arise, enlarge the Catharist (Gnostic-dualistic) Church, protect them, and on the other hand oppress the Clergy and the Church.

Dolcino prophesies the coming of a third Frederick,

In north Italy a Prophet of the third Frederick kindled a bloody religious war. Dolcino, who had placed himself at the head of a Mendicant Order of Apostolic Brethren, founded after the pattern of the Minorites,[2] sent forth his prophetic letters[3] one after another from the hiding-place in which he had buried himself, in the first years of the fourteenth century. Aroused by the writings

[1] *Codex Vaticanus*, 97. [Cf. Sharon Turner's *History of England*. London, 1815. II., pp. 377–393. Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II., Book III., v. Cathari was the name by which they were best known in Germany; Paterini in Italy. Their Gnostic dualism was derived from the Paulicians of Armenia.]

[2] [By Gerard Sagarelli of Parma, then a stronghold of the Spiritualists. After enduring much persecution as a fanatic and heretic, he was burnt by the Inquisition, under Boniface VIII., in the year of jubilee. Dolcino of Novara was his successor.]

[3] [Two of his three epistles are extant. See Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Book XII., chap. vi.]

of Joachim, and moving in the same circle of ideas with respect to the periods[1] or eras in the history of the world, he declared, that it had been revealed to him, that Frederick of Arragon would be called to the imperial throne, and would forthwith set on foot a general massacre of the Clergy in a body, and of all religious societies. Thereupon a holy Pope would arise, in whose days the Apostolic Brethren would enjoy perfect freedom, and the whole earth would be converted to the new Everlasting Gospel of the most absolute poverty. Dolcino placed the occurrence of these events at so near a date, that he very soon experienced the refutation of his prophecy by facts. That, however, did not disconcert him. In his next prophetical manifesto he simply placed a longer limit of a year. Being persecuted, Dolcino and fourteen hundred of his followers took up arms, seized and fortified a mountain in the neighbourhood of Vercelli, and thus originated a war conducted with all the barbarity of that time, in which he at last succumbed, and with those whom he had led away after him, met with a horrible death.[2] His fol-

and also of a Papa Angelico.

[1] [I. That of the Patriarchs and Prophets. II. That of Christ and the Apostles. III. The iron or evil age, commencing with the death of S. Silvester. IV. The golden age, commencing with Gerard Sagarelli. The Angels of the Seven Churches were interpreted to signify S. Benedict, Pope Silvester, S. Francis, S. Dominic, Gerard of Parma, Dolcino of Novara, and the future holy Pope.—*Ibid.*]

[2] [Hundreds were burned or drowned. Dolcino and his companion Longino were executed, with hideous cruelty. Their flesh was torn away with hot pincers, and their limbs were then wrenched off. The

lowers were scattered far and wide. Continuing to hold fast to the belief in an Emperor who would execute Divine judgment on the Clergy, and in a holy Pope, they fell into the power of the Inquisition, and fifteen years after the death of the Prophet some twenty Dolcinists were burnt in the market-place of Padua.[1]

beautiful Margarita of Trent had previously been burnt alive with slow fire before Dolcino's eyes. These horrors took place in June, 1307. See the well-known message of Muhammad to Dolcino, Dante's *Inferno*, xxviii. 55. It is difficult to make out how far Dante sympathised with Dolcino.]

[1] *Historia Dulcini, cum additamento*, in MURATORI, *Scriptores rerum Ital.* IX., 425. [*Historical Memoir of Fra Dolcino and his Times*, by MARIOTTI, from which some interesting extracts are given in the notes to LONGFELLOW'S Dante.]

VII

THE FOLLOWERS OF JOACHIM

Immense influence of the system taught by Dolcino.

IN the teaching of Dolcino we have the fruit and offshoots of a prophetic system, which raised itself to the position of a spiritual power, and penetrated deep into ecclesiastical literature, in a way which no other system has done before or since; a system which for centuries filled men's minds with hopes and fears, and influenced their ideas respecting the Divine counsels, and respecting the things which were to be expected and accomplished.

Joachim of Flora its author.

The author of this system, Joachim, founder of the monastery of Flora in Calabria, was a profound theologian, trained by the most careful study of the Scriptures; although afterwards, in order to make his writings appear as evidence of wonderful enlightenment, it was maintained that he had been destitute of all training.[1] Joachim

[1] Accepta, ut aiunt, divinitus sapientia, cum fere esset prius illiteratus. Radulphi Coggeshale, *Chron. Angl.*, in Martene, *Coll. Ampl.* v., 838.

himself asseverated that he was no Prophet in the proper sense of the term, only the spirit of understanding had been given to him;—the gift, that is to say, of interpreting rightly the prophetic contents of the Old and New Testaments, and of construing the course of the world's history and the changeful fortunes of the Church from the prophecies, analogies, and types in the Bible. He himself describes,[1] how one Easter night, in the course of meditation, the whole richness of meaning in the *Apocalypse* and the agreement of the Old Testament with the New was made perfectly clear to him by a Divine revelation. It had seemed to him as if a flood of dazzling bright light had all at once streamed in upon his soul. And hence he could say to the Abbot Adam of Persigny, in Rome, that he understood all mysteries of the Holy Scripture with the same clearness with which the biblical Prophets themselves had understood them.

He disclaims the title of Prophet.

Three Popes, Lucius III., Urban III. (1185), and Clement III. (1188), charged Joachim not to conceal the disclosures which God had vouchsafed to him, but to publish his writings, which he had submitted to the judgment of the Roman See;—the *Concordia*, the *Psalter*, and the *Commentary on the Apocalypse*.[2] King Richard of England and

Fame of Joachim as a Prophet during his lifetime.

[1] *Comment. in Apocal.*, p. 39.

[2] JAFFÉ, *Regest.* 10085. *Vita Urbani III.*, in MURATORI, *Scr.* IV., 476. Joachim also mentions these three writings in his confession. Cf. Gregorii Lauri, *Joachim Magnus Propheta*, Naples, p. 166.

English and French Bishops of high standing asked him for advice.[1] The news of the appearance of a Prophet like Joachim caused already during his lifetime—he died in the year 1202—great excitement, even in the distant north, and even where his writings were still unknown. His contemporaries mention his name in their Chronicles, frequently with the remark, that one must wait to see whether his prophetic utterances would be confirmed by the result,—all was as yet still uncertain. And yet in fact, up to about the year 1220, very little of the prophetic contents of his writings was known. This, in the main, was all that was understood (and with astonishment) by people, that he had said to the King of England and his Bishops, that ere long an Antichrist would appear on the Papal Chair, he whom the Apostle Paul designates as the Man of Sin and of pre-

His prediction of an Antichrist soon to become Pope excites great astonishment;

[1] Benedicti Abbatis Petroburgens. *Gesta Regis Henrici.* London, 1867. II., 151–155. [Joachim explains the seven heads of the dragon in *Revelation* to be Herod, Nero, Constantius, Maumet, Melsemutus (Abdalmumen?), Saladin, and Antichrist. Hoveden's variations at this point of the narrative are very remarkable, and help to illustrate the subject of Dr. Döllinger's Essay. Professor Stubbs, who quotes Hoveden at some length, comments on his variations as follows. "It "would appear from this that the text was originally written before the "death of Saladin, who was not killed, but died a natural death; and "before the failure of Richard's crusade, the success of which is here "predicted. Hoveden, on the other hand, writing after the event, re-"trenches all that is definite in the prophecy relating to Richard, and "omits all reference to the death of Saladin. It is possible, however, "that Hoveden's version was written before 1194, to which year the "recovery of Palestine is fixed; or if written after the death of Saladin "in 1193, is intended to suggest a non-natural interpretation of the "prophecy of his loss of Palestine."]

sumptuous wickedness; that he was already born.[1] Seeing that Joachim's views were not yet known as a connected whole, this aroused general excitement. People did not know that Joachim found more than one Antichrist in the history of the Church and in the prophetic intimations in the Bible, and that with his conviction of the deep corruption of the Church and of the pestilential influence of the Roman Curia was very closely connected the thought, that the whole mass of corruption in Rome must ere long manifest itself in a concentrated form, in a single personality, viz. a Pope.

but does not alienate Honorius III. from him;

Nevertheless Honorius III. declared after the death of the Abbot, that whereas Joachim had under his own hand submitted all his writings to the judgment of the Apostolic See, and had confessed his adhesion to the Creed of the Roman Church, declaration was to be made throughout the whole of Calabria, that the Pope considered him to be a true Catholic.[2]

[1] Benedicti Abbatis Petroburgens, p. 153. [In Rome, and that he was then fifteen years old. King Richard replies that if Antichrist has been born in Rome destined to occupy the Apostolic See, then no doubt the reigning Pontiff, Clement III., is Antichrist. "Hæc "autem dicebat quia papam illum odio habebat."]—Roger de Hoveden, ap. Savile, *rer. Angl. Scrip.*, p. 388.

[2] Lambertini (Benedict XIX.), *De servorum Dei beatificatione*, ii., 248, gives the text of the decree. [Dante places Joachim in the Heaven of the Sun with Nathan the Prophet, John Chrysostom, Anselm, &c.

"Rabano è qui, e lucemi da lato
Il Calaviese abate Gioacchino,
Di spirito profetico dotato."—*Paradiso*, xii., 139–41.]

in spite of the enmity of the Cistercians.

This decree of the Pope was directed, in the first place, against the Cistercians, who spared no pains to bring about the condemnation of a man whom they hated, who had withdrawn with his congregation from their Order, or, at any rate, the condemnation of his writings. And they made the most of the condemnation pronounced by Innocent III. on an expression respecting the Trinity, in which Joachim had found fault with Peter Lombard.[1]

Fame of Joachim as a Saint after his death.

Joachim left behind him the reputation of having been as saintly a man as he was enlightened a Prophet. Miracles in abundance were related of him. In the Churches of Calabria a cultus was paid to him as to other Saints, and, moreover, the Bollandists have included him in their great work on the lives of the Saints. Many actually cherished the notion, that in him a true Prophet had been vouchsafed to the Christian world for the first time since the Apostles, and that the right key to the understanding of the history of the world and of the Church had been afforded for the first time by his writings.

Spurious works attributed to Joachim.

From the middle of the thirteenth century onwards appeared other writings, hitherto unknown, under the name of Joachim,—his *Commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah*. Supposing that they were genuine, the exact fulfilment of so many historic predictions in the time which falls between 1202 and 1240 would be the most wonderful pheno-

[1] Gervaise, *Histoire de l'Abbé Joachim*. Paris, 1745. II., 465.

menon in the history of prophecy. They were, however, composed by Italian Minorite monks, though entirely in the spirit and manner of Joachim. Through these new writings, especially through the *Commentary on Jeremiah*, which was everywhere received with full confidence as a genuine production of the Calabrian Abbot, the Joachimite doctrine, for the first time, forced its way into wider circles, and formed for itself a peculiar school of Joachimites. It was said that an aged Abbot of the Order of Flora had entrusted the writings of Joachim to the Minorite monastery in Pisa, for fear lest the Emperor Frederick should destroy his convent.[1] Hence it came to pass that it was precisely the Minorites who were the energetic spreaders of these writings. A contemporary relates that it was about the year 1250 that Joachim's prophecies came forth to the world, when the Cardinal de Porto sent them to Germany.[2] Simultaneously with this the Minorite, Adam Marsh, sent passages from Joachim to Bishop Grostête of Lincoln, which then, for the first time, were brought from the continent to England, "in order that he might know whether "the sentence of punishment pronounced upon "Prelates and Clergy, Princes and people, would "soon take effect."[3]

The *Commentary on Jeremiah* greatly spreads his doctrines,

through the instrumentality of the Minorites.

[1] Salimbene, p. 101.

[2] Conrad of Halberstadt in his (unprinted) Latin version of Eicke von Repgow. See Muratori, *Antiquit. Ital.*, iii., 948.

[3] Adæ de Marisco, *Epistolæ*, p. 147, in the *Monumenta Franciscana*, ed. Brewer.

He has followers among both Guelfs and Ghibellines.

In Italy Joachimites were to be found among the Guelfs no less than among the Ghibellines. Salimbene mentions numbers of them. Notaries, physicians, judges, and other men of letters assembled regularly in the dwelling of one of the leading Minorites, Hugo de Barcola, to hear his lectures on Joachimism. A professor of theology, Rudolf of Saxony, gave up scholastic studies, in order to devote himself entirely to this prophetic Theology. But now the whole edifice of Joachimism was violently shaken by events which altogether failed to correspond with the prophetic calculations. In the year 1250 came the death of the Emperor Frederick II., to whose government so important a position was assigned in this system, and therewith was accomplished the complete triumph of the papal over the imperial power;—in entire contradiction to the prophecy of Joachim, which had promised a much longer life—seventy or seventy-two years—to the Emperor; and, at the same time, had predicted for the Church,—that meant, according to the current phraseology of the Italian Guelfs, the Papacy—a Babylonian Captivity of seventy years, that is, subjection under the imperial power for a period of that duration. Ten years later people were once more undeceived in a remarkable way. According to the Joachimite system the second period in the world's history, the epoch of the Son, was to last 1260 years; and therefore, in the

The death of Frederick II. a great blow to his system, A.D. 1250.

Another great blow to it in 1260.

The reform in the Church promised by

year 1260, the new and third epoch, that of the Holy Ghost, was to commence, and with it a great metamorphosis and glorification of the Church. The Joachimites, who for the most part belonged to the Minorite Order—at that time most popular and influential—had by their preaching excited great expectations among the lower orders in Italy, and had awakened a great religious enthusiasm, which found a vent in the pilgrimages of the Flagellants in this year.[1] But there it stopped. In other particulars, all went on, both in world and Church, in the usual way. The Curia and the Hierarchy either remained indifferent to the movement which had seized upon the people, or held themselves in hostile opposition to it. The Minorites could not long hide from themselves the fact, that in the dominant ecclesiastical circles there was not the slightest motion in the direction of reform; nay rather, that those very evils, which seemed to them to be so intolerable, and the urgent causes of heavy and near-approaching punishment, were still in the full course of further development. "At that time," says SALIMBENE, "after the experiences of the years "1250 and 1260, I entirely abandoned the Joachi- "mite doctrine; and I am determined not to believe "any more what I do not see."[2] His determina-

Joachim remains as far off as ever.

Fluctuating views of Salimbene respecting Joachim's doctrines.

[1] [See p. 100.]

[2] Dimisi totaliter istam doctrinam, et dispono non credere, nisi quæ videro.—SALIMBENE, p. 131.

tion certainly did not remain steadfast; for in his latter days, when he wrote his Chronicle (about 1284), he was certainly once more a believing Joachimite. Hugo had said to him, that it was only the carnally minded who rejected Joachim's prophecies, because he announced the coming of unpleasant things, many and grievous sufferings and trials.

Joachim's followers find various means of defending his predictions.

But Joachim himself declared his computations of time to be uncertain; it was not his intention to give a definite year for the coming of the event. The Joachimites in general knew how to help themselves. The one party said, that the third period of the world's history, that of the Holy Ghost, had undoubtedly commenced with the year 1260, and the Flagellant movement was the sign of its arrival. The characteristic mark of this epoch, the power and activity of the religious Orders was also an actual fact. Others, as UBERTINO OF CASALE, would have it, that Joachim was right in assigning the number of 1260 years to the second era; only they must be reckoned from the resurrection, not from the birth of Christ. So that the age of the Holy Ghost would not commence until the year 1293.[1] In fact the honour and prophetic reputation of Joachim was dear to the heart of every true Minorite. For the Seer was believed to have predicted not merely the appear-

Especially the Minorites, whose perpetual prosperity he had foretold.

[1] The formula employed again and again in SALIMBENE is "in tertio "statu operabitur Spiritus Sanctus in religiosis."—SALIMBENE, pp. 123, 240.

ance and high ecclesiastical significance and dignity of the order, but also to have announced this, —that while the Dominican Order would be visited with the threatened punishment along with the rest of the Clergy, yet the Minorite Order would continue in prosperity to the end of the world. JOHN OF PARMA himself, the universally revered General of the Order, was obliged, after his retirement as a Joachimite, to submit to a rigorous examination. And his successor and judge, BONAVENTURA, threatened to have him condemned as a heretic, so offensive did his views respecting the existing and future circumstances of the Church appear to be; and nothing but the protection of the Pope[1] saved him. This was all the more surprising, in that Bonaventura—as one sees from his Commentary on the Apocalypse—held views respecting the corruptions in the Church and the main cause of them, viz. the simoniacal Roman Curia, very similar to those of his predecessor in office.

Strong opposition between John of Parma and Bonaventura on the subject.

A survey of the Joachimite system shows that it certainly contained germs of a serious nature, if one considers them in comparison with the then prevailing form of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline.

Dangerous elements in Joachimism.

The history of the human race, according to the

His theory of the three ages in the Church.

[1] AFFO, *Vito del beato Giovanni di Parma.* Parma, 1777, p. 125. Affo will not admit the presence of Bonaventura at this examination without proof of the fact; because he might have been out of Italy at the time. Moreover John of Parma was beatified by Pius VI., and a feast in his honour was introduced into the Order.

teaching of Joachim and his school, runs its course in three great eras:—that of the Father, the prechristian, or, taking as types the three chief Apostles, the Petrine age;—then that of the Son, or the Pauline age (from Christ to 1260);—and lastly that of the Holy Ghost, or the Johannine epoch. Nevertheless the two last periods will not be sharply or palpably separated from one another. But unobservably, in small, hidden, silent beginnings will the one gradually pass into the other; so that time between 1200 and 1260 forms at once the end of the second and the beginning of the third period. The Church (chiefly in consequence of the corrupt conduct of the Popes) is altogether carnal, turned into a brothel and a den of thieves, although God has still left behind in her a seed of blessing and of grace. The Clergy are despised on account of their vices, the Prelati[1] are adulterers

Unspeakable corruption in the Church.

[1] [It will be well to insert here a remark and quotation from the Preface to Mr. Mac Cabe's translation of *Kirche und Kirchen*. "A literal "translation of the word *Prälaten* into English as *Prelates* might lead "to a gross misapprehension. In England, Ireland, and Scotland, the "universal signification given to the word *prelate*, corresponds precisely "with Johnson's definition of it—*an ecclesiastic of the highest order and "dignity*. *Our* Prelates are either archbishops or bishops; but it "will be seen by the annexed account given of the *Roman* Prelates, "that they are far different, in every respect, from members of the episcopal order."

"The *Prelatura*" (observes Mr. Lyons, in his letter to the Marquis of Normandy, No. xxxi.) "is essentially an Ecclesiastical Body: its "members, whether they actually take orders or not, are looked upon "as belonging to the clergy. They wear the religious habit; they are "expected to act, think, and speak as Churchmen. They form a body "apart from the rest of the community. They have ecclesiastical

and hirelings, the Cardinals and Papal Legates are avaricious plunderers sucking the blood of the Churches. Thus is the Christian community led astray and ruined. Whosoever goes to Rome to transact anything there, forthwith falls among thieves,—the Cardinals, notaries, and so forth. For Rome, the city of all Christian impurity, is the centre whence all abomination radiates in Christendom; with her then must the judgment of God also begin. The chief instruments of God's vengeance are, besides unbelievers, the Saracens, the Germans, those Chaldæans of later times, and the Roman Empire with the Emperor. France, the Egypt of later times, the reed, on which the Papacy leans and it pierces its hand, is conquered by the Germans and its power broken, although the neighbouring lands round about will submit to its yoke. The German Imperium will be a rod of correction to the grievously sinning Italians also. In the embittered contest between Empire and Papacy both these two strong powers will fall to pieces. The Pope will attempt to destroy the bulwark of the Empire by inviting barbarous nations to attack it, and by arbitrary interference with the tenure of the highest dignities. The Emperor,

Rome the centre of iniquity.

Impending retribution.

Both Papacy and Empire will perish in the storm.

" privileges. It is true they have not all of them irrevocably taken a " vow of celibacy; nay, I believe there are even some rare instances of " prelates actually married. But if a prelate marry, his career is " almost inevitably closed—his hopes of high office and of the cardi- " nalate are at an end."—*The Church and the Churches.* London, 1862, p. x.]

Regeneration of the Church,

however, will deprive the Pope of all temporal sovereignty and of all territory. But then comes the time of the conversion and glorification of the true Church. Men recognize the fact now, that a perverse striving after a sovereignty, which does not become the Church, can only lead it into a perpetually increasing servitude. After the Empire shall have done its work as an instrument of retribution, the sentence of vengeance will be executed upon it by means of the Saracens (the Beast from out of the sea) and of ten kings from the East. But the Saracens will then be annihilated by the Tatars coming down from the North. The instrument, of which God will make use in purifying the corrupt Church and in instituting the Great Sabbath or age of the Holy Spirit, will be an Order [1] of contemplative hermits, who, matured and enlightened by many years of study perfected in lonely retirement and by prayerful meditation, will proclaim the true Gospel to mankind. To this Order will also of course belong that preacher, who, according to Joachim's statement, will be sent from God (either alone or in company with others) to teach men the love of heavenly things and the

and inauguration of the age of the Spirit by means of a religious Order.

[1] In most passages of the authentic writings of Joachim mention is made of only *one* Order, a society of hermits clad in black. In some passages, however, he speaks of *two* Orders, of which one will furnish martyrs for the Truth, the other will devote itself to combating heretics. In the *Commentaries on Jeremiah and Isaiah* it is the two new Mendicant Orders, the Minorites and the Dominicans, which are plainly indicated in the prophecy.—*Comm. in Apocal.*, p. 142.

contempt of things temporal.[1] By means of these men the chairs of those carnally-minded teachers will be overthrown, viz. the Italian Legists and Decretists; those sycophants, who (especially they of Bologna, the Valley of Tophet) do homage to the avarice and tyranny of ecclesiastical Princes by their doctrines. At last, when the great Sabbath of rest for the nations of Christendom under the guidance of true Pastors begins, and the contemplative Church celebrates her triumph, then also will take place the conversion of the Jews and infidels, even of the Tatars. With regard to the appearance of Antichrist in the interim, there are contradictory statements in the writings of Joachim. They admit, however, of reconciliation; for Joachim supposed that there will be several Antichrists, sometimes succeeding one another, sometimes contemporaneous with another, and that the nearer the history of the world approaches its end, the more numerous will they become.

Conversion of all infidels.

Meanwhile there will be many Antichrists.

Such in its main features is the prophetic picture of the world's history, which, sketched out by Joachim, and continued in his imaginative spirit (the *Commentary on Isaiah* can scarcely have been written before the year 1266, or thereabouts), had for centuries a direct or indirect influence on men's expectations and ideas with regard to the future, especially in Italy. The view of the German

Joachimite view of Germany and the

[1] *Comm. in Apocal.*, p. 137.

Empire entirely Guelf in colour.

nation and Empire, which is here set forth, is altogether that of the Guelf party, which saw in the Germans nothing more than an army of robbers, tyrannical oppressors of subjugated nations, and which declined to recognize the higher function of the imperial power, as it was conceived at that time by Dante. "The Empire of the Germans," to quote the *Commentary on Jeremiah*, "has always been "severe and cruel to us. Therefore must the Lord "destroy it with the sword of His wrath, so that all "kings shall tremble at the sound of its overthrow." In these and similar utterances one recognizes the spirit of the Neapolitan Minorites. Of the fundamental ideas and chief circumstances, which the authors of these writings professed to behold in their prophetic mirror, only a very small number were realized in fact. Of the two powers, which were mutually to shatter one another to pieces, the Papacy and the Empire, the former, viz. the Roman Curia, had certainly just at that time won a complete victory over the German Empire, which at last was stretched defenceless at its feet; but the Papal See experienced no diminution, either of its possessions or of its dignity, at the hands of the Germans and their Emperor—at any rate not in the succeeding centuries, and never at the hands of an Emperor. But when in the year 1303 the day of Anagni came, and shortly after it the pontificate of Clement the Fifth, the disciples of Joachim might reasonably find in this the fulfilment of their

Very few of these predictions came to pass.

The Papacy was not broken for centuries, and never by an Emperor.

1305–1314.

master's prophecy, that France was the reed that should pierce the hand of the Pope who should lean upon it.[1]

Difference between the genuine writings of Joachim and the Commentaries.

But between the genuine writings of Joachim and the *Commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah* there exists, it must be owned, a considerable difference, both in the general tone and in the judgment pronounced, which, however, was not observed by contemporaries. Above all with reference to the Papacy. Between the two sets of writings there is an interval of half a century, during which the Popes had with giant strides drawn nearer their goal, Dominion over the whole world; and the corruption, which spread from the Curia into all ranks of society and all measures of policy in the Church, had increased in proportion. Joachim had, so to speak, written under the eyes of the Popes, and for their good. The Minorites, who composed

Joachim rebuked the Popes; the Minorites attacked them.

[1] [Clement V. was governed all his life by the will and pleasure of Philip the Fair, King of France. William de Nogaret, the implacable foe of Boniface VIII., though excommunicated, resolutely prosecuted his own cause and that of King Philip against Boniface, in the papal court; a transaction which, I believe, is without a parallel. Philip wished to have the body of Boniface disinterred, and publicly burnt. With great difficulty Clement averted this infamy by his entreaties and advice; but in everything else he had to obey the king. Accordingly, he abrogated the laws enacted by Boniface; granted the king five years' tithes; absolved Nogaret from all crime, after imposing on him a slight penance, which he never performed; restored the inhabitants of Anagni to their former reputable and good standing; and held a General Council at Vienne, A.D. 1311, that Philip's pleasure might be gratified in the suppression of the Templars. In this Council, likewise, various things were decided according to the pleasure of the king, whom Clement dared not offend, being terrified by the melancholy fate of Boniface. —MOSHEIM'S *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History*, Book III., ii., 2, § 7.]

the *Commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah*, wrote under the cover and disguise of his name; and their standpoint, as Spiritualists and professors of the new doctrine of poverty, of itself inclined them to uncompromisingly severe condemnation of the Popes and of their avaricious and grossly luxurious court. Whereas Joachim, although he too in various passages in his writings recognized in the Roman Curia the fountain of mischief, yet always spoke of the Papal See in terms of the deepest respect.

The Joachimite doctrines assailed most strenuously in France;

It was not by the Popes, nor in Italy, as one might have expected, but in France, that the prophetic system of Joachim was assailed by the native theologians and Bishops, and stigmatized as a perilously false doctrine by no account to be tolerated in the Church. In Provence the Joachimite doctrine had already produced a literature of its own, when in the year 1260 a Synod at Arles thought it its duty solemnly to condemn the theory of the three epochs, and of a second outpouring of the Holy Spirit, as propounded by Joachim.[1] This condemnation, said the Bishops, would have been pronounced much sooner, had not the writings of Joachim, especially his chief work, the *Concordia*, been concealed till quite lately in certain monasteries, and hence had escaped notice. Otherwise, said they, the Papal See would undoubtedly along

condemned by a Synod.

[1] HARDUIN, *Coll. Concil.*, VII., 512. [Quæ omnia debet detestari, abominari, et abjicere, quilibet Christianus. . . . . ne subditi nostri de cetero talibus utantur, aut ea ultra recipiant, sub anathematis interminatione prohibemus.]

with the writings of Gerardino have censured Joachim also, who was the source whence they had flowed.

William of S. Amour assails Joachim for promising an age of prosperity to the Church.

Somewhat later the Parisian theologian, WILLIAM OF SAINT AMOUR,[1] combated Joachimism, without, however, being acquainted with the later Joachimite writings, the *Commentaries on Jeremiah and Isaiah*. William found that all the signs of the near approach of Antichrist were already present, the Roman Empire had come to an end with Frederick II., and the gift of miracles was taken away from the Church. Accordingly it was by no means Joachim's epoch of the Holy Spirit, but exactly the opposite that was to be expected.[2] He refuses to recognize any consolation in the future for mankind and the Church; and it is a remarkable sign of the times, that the Rector of the first High School in the world declares that the prophetic utterances of Joachim are to be rejected precisely because in them a long period of peace and prosperity, a happy old age lasting for many centuries longer, is promised to the Church and the Christian world. The dark picture which he drew of the lamentable circumstances of the deeply distracted Church, did not

Opposite conclusions from similar premises.

[1] [So called from Saint-Amour, the place of his birth and of his exile. Being in Franche Comté it was not yet part of the kingdom of France.]

[2] The treatise is not the work of Oresme, Bishop of Lisieux, under whose name MARTENE, *Ampliss. Coll.*, IX., 1273, *seq.* has printed it, but (as the author of the *Histoire littéraire de France*, XXI., 470, has already seen) of William of Saint-Amour.

differ very much from the representations of the Joachimites (always excepting the mission of the new Mendicant Orders, which he accounted as utterly mischievous); but the two parties drew opposite conclusions from similar facts. The Joachimites maintained—if we did not hold out to ourselves the promise of a brilliant future with a purified and well-ordered Church, we should be driven into utter perplexity respecting the Church and doubt respecting her divine origin and mission. William of Saint-Amour on the other hand contended—the days of a Church well-pleasing to God and not fallen away from her original constitution and the purpose for which she was founded lie far behind us; the Church has no promise of a better future; she can do nothing but wait for the appearance of her great adversary.

Gerardino's Introduction to the *Everlasting Gospel.*

During the same years in which the two fresh utterances of advanced Joachimism, the commentaries on the two Prophets, appeared, the Minorite, Gerardino of Borgo-San-Donnino, collected together three genuine writings of the Abbot of Flora into one whole, under the title of the *Everlasting Gospel*, and prefaced it with an Introduction, which, although Joachimite in thought, nevertheless sounded to most of the party like a wanton distortion of the true doctrine. Indulgent as the Papal See had on the whole shown itself towards Joachimism, a condemnation was in this case inevitable; and it accordingly was pronounced by a

It is formally condemned by Rome.

commission of Cardinals at Anagni in the year 1255, the Bishop of Akkon, who had come from France on purpose, acting as prosecutor.[1] In his *Introductorius* Gerardino had announced the commencement of the third period of the world's history, the era of the Holy Spirit, for the year 1260, that is, only six years from the current time. Thereupon would the New Testament, the epoch and economy of the Son, be closed and abrogated, or "made void," just as the first epoch, that of the Old Testament, had been abrogated by the New; for, he added immediately, by the Gospel of Christ is no one brought on to perfection. Under the conduct of the Minorite Order, developed to the fulness of maturity, all metaphors and riddles will vanish in the sunlight of the new Church of the Holy Spirit. And just as at the beginning of the New Covenant three personages shone out, Zacharias, John the Baptist, and the man Jesus, so also in the third, the epoch of the Spirit, three will be the pillars of the edifice, Joachim, Dominic, and Francis.[2]

[1] [William of Saint-Amour seized upon the book as a weapon with which to drive out both the Mendicant Orders from the University of Paris. Alexander IV. commanded its immediate destruction. To possess it entailed excommunication. No one dared avow himself as its author. Dominicans and Franciscans mutually accused one another of having produced it. The tone is Franciscan.—MILMAN, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. XII., chap. vi.]

[2] See sentences from the *Introductorius* in DUPLESSIS D'ARGENTRÉ, *Collectio judiciorum*, I., 163. [MOSHEIM is very severe on the "foolish' *Everlasting Gospel*, and still more so on the "detestable" and "infamous" *Introductorius*. "This book is not a monument of the pride

Miserable end of Gerardino.

Gerardino's fate was terrible. He refused to recant, and was condemned to imprisonment for life; and in prison, after eighteen years, he died. No one troubled himself further with his INTRODUCTORIUS, which after six years was refuted simply by facts. But the Joachimite doctrine and system of prophecy continued to maintain itself in the Minorite Order, and two considerable men, PETER JOHN OLIVA and UBERTINO DI CASALE, lent it new impulse. They were joined by an influential party of Spiritualists, as in Joachimite language those men were called, who wished to see utter poverty, in the sense and spirit of their founder, maintained in the Order. Joachim's prophetic authority remained undiminished; only men found that his chronological statements rested on pure conjecture, and therefore were not to be adopted rigidly, always provided that the number 1260 be of necessity maintained as a chronological indication of the great crisis in the world's history, in accordance with the theory that the apocalyptic days were to be understood as years.

Theories of PETER JOHN OLIVA and UBERTINO DI CASALE.

The whole duration of the world and of the Church was now mapped out into *seven*[1] periods, in

The seven ages of the Church.

" and insolence of *all* the Mendicant Orders, but of the impious folly of " a *part*, and a very small part, of the Franciscan family;" *i. e.* the Spirituals, and perhaps not all of them. Book III., ii. 2, § 34.]

[1] [These seven ages of the Church are thus given by MILMAN:— I. That of her foundation under the Apostles. II. The age of the martyrs. III. The age of the exposition of the faith, and the confutation of insurgent heresies. IV. That of the Anchorites, who fled into the desert to subdue the flesh, enlightening the Church like the

each of which a great and severe contest had a place. The fifth epoch, extending into the thirteenth century, is the time of complete ruin in the Church, in which the See of Rome, along with the most extensive development of power, contributed also in the highest degree to the universal corruption. Simultaneously with the sixth epoch the third great era, the age of the Holy Ghost, had begun; in reality it had done so with the appearance of S. Francis, some hundred years or so previous to this, only then the world was still flooded with the dregs of the fifth epoch. But the carnal Church with its false Popes is growing ripe for judgment, and the time in which the Spiritualists will conquer, and the Church of the Spirit show itself openly and hold sway, freed from the poison of temporal possessions, is no longer far off. Then will the Church have full leisure and power, and will still last long enough to accomplish the conversion as well of the Jews as of the whole heathen world. Oliva's *Commentary on the Apocalypse* was the favourite book of the Spiritualists,

sun and the stars. V. That of the monastic communities, both secular and regular, some severe, some condescending to human infirmity, but holding temporal possessions. VI. The renovation of the true evangelic life, the overthrow of Antichrist, the final conversion of the Jews and Gentiles, the re-edification of the primitive Church. The VIIth was to come: it was to be on earth a wonderful and quiet pre-enjoyment of future glory, as though the heavenly Jerusalem had descended upon the earth; in the other life, the resurrection of the dead, the glorification of the saints, the consummation of all things. — *Latin Christianity*, Bk. XII., chap. vi.]

and of their party,[1] now very numerous, especially in Italy and the south of France, which continued to sustain itself on these prophecies, from year to year expecting the victory and manifest appearance of the Church of the Holy Ghost. As they refused to acknowledge the Popes who succeeded John XXII., they were subjected by the Popes to a terrible persecution, in which 114 Spiritualists ascended the scaffold, and many more died in close imprisonment. Oliva's bones were dug up and burnt, and his writings forbidden, until Sixtus IV., himself a Minorite, caused them to be examined afresh and declared orthodox, for all that had been considered as offensive could be explained in a right sense.[2]

Persecution of the Spiritualists,

It could not be denied that these victims of papal inquisitorial tribunals led a pure, self-denying life, in accordance with the rule of their founder. All the deeper in consequence was the abhorrence felt towards Rome and the Curia, for causing the execution of just those men, who, in the judgment of the people, were the flower of the Catholic Church. Before this the Joachimite *Commentary*

causing still stronger anti-papal feeling.

[1] Oliva was called the "Doctor Columbinus," because the party had chosen the dove as their symbol. The Commentary is still unprinted; but the Articles from it laid before a papal Commission under John XXII. are sufficient to give one a knowledge of its representations. Ubertino's chief work is his *Arbor vitæ crucifixæ* (Venice, 1485), written in the year 1305, in which he goes so far as to declare Boniface VIII. and Clement V. to be false Popes.

[2] Flam. Annibali de Latera, *Supplem. ad Bullar. Francisc.* Rome, 1778, p. 52.

on Jeremiah had said, "As it (the Curia) hath "violently slain, so shall it also be violently slain," and these prophetic sayings acquired, in the course of the age immediately following, more and more of a strong anti-papal colouring. Hence arose the fearful thought, that the Papal Chair had really been for some time the seat of Antichrist himself, or would hereafter become so.

Suspicion that the Pope is Antichrist,

For deep was the impression, which the whole bearing of Boniface VIII. made upon his contemporaries;—this audacious proclamation of the dogma respecting the universal dominion of the Pope, this tyranny wholly founded on fear and terror, this undisguised immorality. The astonishment and horror of religiously-minded men at the appearance of the "new Lucifer" on the Papal Chair, is expressed in glowing words of satire by the celebrated poet of the Minorite Order, JACOPONE DA TODI.[1] The Joachimite idea, that the Chair of S. Peter would for a long time become the spoil of an adversary of Christ, who would bear in himself all the marks of the predicted Antichrist, won in the eyes of many a look of increased probability.

expressed in the satires of Jacopone da Todi,

Men were all the more convinced that they had seen a "Man of Sin and Son of Perdition," actually sitting in the Temple of God and bedecked with the papal tiara, when in the year 1310 Pope Clement V.

and increased by the prosecution of Boniface VIII. by Clement V.

[1] The passage is found in the oldest editions of his poems; in the later ones it has slipped out. TOSTI, however, has printed it in his *Storia di Bonifacio VIII.* (Monte Cassino, 1848), I., 286.

subjected his predecessor Boniface, who had then been in his grave seven years, to a public prosecution, and opened a lengthy process of inquiry, which lasted more than a year, against him. A number of men of the highest position, Prelati, Abbots, Counts, and other noblemen came forward as eye- or ear-witnesses to accuse the late Pope of infidelity, of heresy, of the most utter contempt for all morality,—men of whom Clement himself testified afterwards, when he quashed the proceedings, that they were in the highest degree worthy of credence, and had only been induced to make these statements through zeal for the Catholic faith.

DANTE'S view of the Papacy and of Boniface.

And here too the greatest Italian of his time, DANTE, who, although in a way peculiar to himself, was also a Joachimite, had his word to say:[1]—

> "He who usurps upon the earth my place,
> My place, my place, which vacant has become
> Before the presence of the Son of God,—"
>
> *Paradiso*, xxvii. 22–24. LONGFELLOW'S translation.

Only the poet did not, like the Spiritualists or Fraticelli, from the fact of the Papal Chair being *in God's sight* vacant, draw the conclusion, that all the acts which such a usurper did upon earth were

[1] ["Quegli che usurpa in terra il loco mio,
Il loco mio, il loco mio, che vaca
Nella presenza del Figliuol di Dio,
Fatto ha del cimiterio mio (Rome, S. Peter's burial-place) cloaca
Del sangue e della puzza, onde il perverso,
Che cadde di quassù, laggiù si placa."
In the *Inferno*, xxvii. 85, Dante calls Boniface VIII. "the Prince of "the new Pharisees"—il Principe de' nuovi Farisei; and in xix. 53 assigns him a place in hell before his death.]

null and void. On the contrary, Boniface VIII. was to him the rightful Vicar of Christ upon earth, though a usurper in heaven, as Dante's celebrated condemnation of the attempt at Anagni proves.[1]

Expectations of the Spiritualists.

The expectations of the Joachimite Spiritualists at the commencement of the fourteenth century embraced the following points;—a universal, severe, and bloody retribution on the now utterly

[1] ["Perchè men paia il mal futuro e il fatto,
Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso,
E nel Vicario suo Christo esser catto.
Veggiolo un' altra volta esser deriso:
Veggio rinnovelar l'aceto e il fele,
E tra nuovi ladroni essere anciso.
Veggio il nuovo Pilato sì crudele,
Che ciò nol sazia, ma senza decreto
Porta nel tempio le cupide vele."

Purgatorio, xx. 85–93.

"That less may seem the future ill and past,
I see the flower-de-luce (banner of Philip the Fair) Alagna enter,
And Christ in His own Vicar captive made.
I see Him yet another time derided;
I see renewed the vinegar and gall,
And between living thieves I see Him slain.
I see the modern Pilate so relentless,
This does not sate him, but without decretal
He to the temple bears his sordid sails!"

Longfellow's translation.

And here I will not forego the pleasure of quoting a few lines, very much to the point, from Dean Church's exquisite essay on Dante, written more than twenty years ago, and now not so well known as it deserves to be. Can no friend persuade him to give it to the world again, as he has recently given to us again his essays on S. Anselm? "Dante," writes Mr. Church, "did the work in his day of a great "preacher. Yet he has been both claimed and condemned as a dis- "turber of the Church's faith.

"He certainly did not spare the Church's rulers. He thought that "they were betraying the most sacred of all trusts; and if history is at

carnal Church, in which the few righteous were to be found only like rare grains of gold in a huge sand-heap;—a simoniacal Pope (the so-called mystic Antichrist), who will cause divine attributes to be claimed for him, divine honours to be paid to him, the incarnate type and exemplar of ecclesiastical abomination;—an outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the Spiritualists, in order to arm them for the fight with the last and great Antichrist;—these were the circumstances which innumerable adherents of the strict Minorite party in Italy and

"all to be relied on, he had some grounds for thinking so. But it is "confusing the feelings of the Middle Ages with our own to convert "every fierce attack on the Popes into an anticipation of Luther. "Strong language of this sort was far too commonplace to be so "significant. No age is blind to practical abuses, or silent on them; "and when the Middle Ages complained, they did so with a full-voiced "and clamorous rhetoric, which greedily seized on every topic of vilifi- "cation within its reach. It was far less singular, and far less bold, "to criticise ecclesiastical authorities, than is often supposed; but it "by no means implied unsettled faith or a revolutionary design. In "Dante's case, if words have any meaning—not words of deliberate "qualification, but his unpremeditated and incidental expressions—his "faith in the Divine mission and spiritual powers of the Popes was "as strong as his abhorrence of their degeneracy, and desire to see "it corrected by a power which they would respect—that of the "temporal sword. It would be to mistake altogether his character "to imagine of him, either as a fault or as an excellence, that he "was a doubter. It might as well be supposed of Aquinas."—*Essays and Reviews*, p. 78. London, 1854.

On Boniface in particular he elsewhere remarks, "If strength and "energy had been enough to make the Church's influence felt on "government, there was a Pope who could have done it—a man who "was undoubtedly the most wondered at and admired of his age, "whom friend or foe never characterized, without adding the invariable "epithet of his greatness of soul—'the *magnanimus peccator*,' whose "Roman grandeur in meeting his unworthy fate fascinated into momen- "tary sympathy even Dante."—*Ibid.* p. 55.]

the south of France had in view at that time, and for long afterwards.

So-called prophecies of CYRIL the Carmelite.

A prophetic saying, which was circulated at that time and later along with those of Joachim, gave rise to much conjecture, and, so far as people understood it, was firmly believed. A Greek of Constantinople, so said the story, CYRIL by name, who then was General of the Order of Carmelites, had received it in the year 1192, written on two silver tablets, from the hands of an Angel. This Cyril-prophecy, written in language of studied obscurity, and for the most part scarcely intelligible, with a strong admixture of foreign words and bombastic[1] ornament, is one of the many fictions of the Carmelite Order, and hence is frequently interpreted by members of this Order, but in contradictory ways.[2]

Their subject-matter.

It commences with the year 1254, and first of all predicts the contests between the Houses of Anjou and Arragon respecting Naples and Sicily. Then the ruin of the Church, of the Roman See, and the grievous guilt of the degenerate Clergy and of the religious Orders are set forth, and mention is made of a heavy retribution to come.

[1] For instance, instead of saying that the Holy Spirit has departed from the Church, it says—evolavit palumba nidificans in corona. The Mendicant Friars are called Pocotrophitæ, instead of ptochotrophitæ, &c.

[2] *Divinum Oraculum, S. Cyrillo Carmelitæ solenni legatione angeli missum, cui adj. Commentarius Philippi a Trinitati.* Lyons, 1663. The other commentaries are quoted in the *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* of COSMAS DE VILLIERS. Aurelian, 1752, I., 358.

The imperial eagle is exhorted—"Awake, spread "thy wings, strike home with thy beak!" The chief point of the whole seems to lie in the last chapter, in which a denunciation is pronounced against the three Orders of the Minorites, the Dominicans, and the Carmelites, and the arts of seduction and sordid means of gain in vogue among the Mendicant Friars are depicted.

Their interpretation.

The author of the prediction himself afforded a key to the interpretation of his riddle, although a very unsufficient one. That is to say, he fathered an explanation of the prophecy on the Abbot Joachim, with the fiction that Cyril had sent the prophetic saying from the East to Calabria and had asked him for an interpretation. Seeing that the text of the prophecy is so obscure, that with a little imagination an indication might be found in it for every conceivable circumstance, it remained for a time in high reputation. Rienzi thought that he saw his mission most clearly denoted in it; and Telesphorus made use of it for other purposes, and laid it at the foundation of his prophetic edifice.

Their obscure language and consequent reputation.

Opinion of Arnold of Villa Nueva.

The celebrated physician Arnold of Villanova esteemed this Cyril-prophecy so highly, that in his writings he declared it to be more precious than all the biblical writings.[1] Probably he meant that as they were written on a tablet by the hand of an

[1] Compare the censure pronounced on his writings by a court of the Inquisition at Tarragona in the year 1316, in Villanueva, *Viage literario a les Iglesias de España*, xix., 321.

Angel himself, while the biblical books proceeded only from men, the former must be prized higher than the latter. Arnold was in other points a zealous Joachimite and Spiritualist, and a most audacious Prophet. For it seemed to him that the whole Church of the West, through the exceeding measure of its sins, was already utterly and irretrievably destroyed; and hence, he thought, all must now hurry speedily to the end. Accordingly, about the year 1297, he fixed the year 1316 for the appearance of the last great Antichrist, and the year 1335 for the end of the world. His theories were afterwards condemned by a tribunal of the Inquisition in Spain.

Important religious bodies easily imagine that their rise has been foretold.

Religious corporations, which, like the Minorites and the Dominicans, had become influential powers in the world, when they had reached the height of their power and importance could hardly fail to imagine that their appearance had been announced by Divine Providence beforehand. The Minorites had accordingly taken care that in the writings of Joachim a very clear prediction should be found, which should represent two Orders as rising like shining stars out of Umbria (Assisi) and Spain, for the preaching of the Gospel.[1] Joachim had even caused the peculiar dress of the two monastic Orders to be painted in a picture exposed to view in the monastery of Flora, and had charged his monks that, whenever men came to them in this

[1] Gregorius de Lauro, *Joachimi mirabilis veritas defensa*, p. 170.

clothing, they were to receive them with kindness and reverence.[1] By this means Joachimism received fresh support, in spite of the unfavourable judgment which the great Dominican theologian, Thomas Aquinas, pronounced respecting Joachim. For Thomas refused to account him as more than a well-meaning man, who had, by means of conjectures, foretold some things that were true, but in others had deceived even himself.[2]

[1] Gerardus de Fracheto, *Vita Fratrum*, p. 7, ed. Duacen.
[2] Thomas in lib. iv., sentent. dist. 439, i. art. 3.

VIII

THE NATURE OF PROPHETIC UTTERANCE FROM THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY TO THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION.

CYRIL'S silver tablets exercised no small influence on the ideas of the Roman Tribune of the people, Cola di Rienzi, who had trained himself[1] among hermitlike Spiritualists and Fraticelli in the Apennines. As the tables of stone to Moses on Mount Sinai, wrote Cola to the Emperor Charles IV., so had these of silver been given to Cyril on Mount Carmel; and he could not but believe these prophecies, for Dominic, Francis, and

Rienzi influenced by the so-called prophecies of Cyril the Carmelite.

[1] [For two years and a half after his first fall and flight in December, 1347. These were the Spiritualists who revered the memory of Cœlestine V., and amid the wild Apennines which flank the kingdom of Naples treasured up the unfulfilled prophecies of the British Merlin, of Joachim, and of Peter John Oliva. The "August Tribune" became a tertiary of the Order, and fasted and prayed with the austerest.—Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. lxx., notes 50, 51. Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. xii., chap. x.]

the reigning Pope were so plainly denoted therein. So then by Cyril, Merlin, and Joachim, the persecution of the poor and lowly eremites, then being carried on by the Pope and his Inquisitors, had been announced beforehand.

His belief in the nearness of the third epoch;

In Rienzi indeed the whole fervour of an enthusiastic Joachimism was united with keen political insight and a talent for ruling which bordered upon genius. Like all Joachimites, he believed firmly in the near approach of the third epoch, the Church of the Holy Spirit. Already

in the coming of a saintly Pope;

one finds in him the idea of a future saintly Pope, a Pope attached to evangelical poverty, a "Papa "Angelicus," as he was called a little later, a second Cœlestine, who will not (like the first) abdicate, but rather with the support of a pious Emperor will effect a revival of the Church and the reformation of the Clergy. But at the same time Rienzi had the idea of ruling Rome almost as a Dictator under a republican form of government, and attempted to unite the torn and distracted Italy in a Confederation under the leadership of Rome. And yet in this son of an innkeeper[1] on the Tiber the enthusiast and visionary were stronger than the statesman. Even after his first fall, when the

1352

Emperor Charles put him in prison, he was possessed by a firm belief that Cyril had foretold his suffer-

[1] [Rienzi himself claimed to be a natural son of the newly-crowned Emperor, Henry of Luxemburg, born in the house of the Transteverine innkeeper.]

in his own call to rebuild the Empire and effect the unity of Italy.

Though a Spiritualist in opinion he is not persecuted for heresy.

1354.

Petrarch shared his views to a great extent.

ings,[1] but that he was still the chosen instrument of God, by means of which, along with the coming regeneration of the Church, the political problem of resuscitating the fallen Roman Empire and of creating a united Italy with Rome for its capital, would be brought to a solution. At bottom he held very much the same opinions as those very Spiritualists or Fraticelli, who at that time, and also for long after, were condemned to death at the stake, wherever hands could be laid on them. He also was accused of heresy;[2] but nevertheless no sentence of death was pronounced on him at Avignon, or at any rate was never carried into effect. Later on, ruling for the second time in Rome, and this time with a commission from the Pope himself,[3] he met his death at the hands of the populace of Rome as a tyrant. It can scarcely be doubted that even the classically educated Petrarch, who gave so friendly a welcome to Rienzi as the saviour of Italy, shared the Tribune's faith in pro-

[1] Papencordt [*Cola di Rienzi und seine Zeit.* Hamburg and Gotha, 1841], p. 241.

[2] ["And for these works of love the Pastor calls me a schismatic, a "heretic, a diseased sheep, a blasphemer of the Church, a man of sacri-"lege, a deceiver, who deals with unclean spirits kept in the Cross of "the Lord, an adulterator of the holy body of Christ, a rebel and a "persecutor of the Church; but 'whom the Lord loveth he chas-"'teneth'; as naked I entered into power, so naked I went out of "power, the people resisting and lamenting my departure."—Letter to the Archbishop of Prague in Papencordt. Milman l. c.]

[3] [The new Pope, Innocent VI., thought that Rienzi's knowledge of Rome and the Romans might, under the direction of Cardinal Albornoz, be made to serve the interests of the Papacy.]

phecy. Only he, who for so long had seen with his own eyes in Avignon the corruption of the papal Curia and the havoc made of the Church by open simony, was much more impressed by the expectation of a heavy and by no means transient retribution, than by the confident hope of a simultaneous regeneration in Church and State, with which Rienzi was filled. In a sonnet,[1] which has become famous, he declares that Rome and the Roman See will one day hereafter—not so soon as I could wish, he adds—be swallowed by a great Muhammadan Empire, the Sovereign of which would reside at Bagdad.[2] Then would its proud towers be burnt up, and its idols lie shattered in the dust. But then also a golden age—he means the Joachimite age of the Holy Spirit—would begin.

JEAN DE LA ROCHETAILLADE.

The form of prophecy peculiar to those times, a combination of Joachimism with the Spiritualism of the Minorites, showed itself at that time incorporated in the person of the unhappy Franciscan, JEAN DE LA ROCHETAILLADE. But his visions conducted him to prison, where Pope Innocent VI.

[1] L'avara Babilonia, &c. *Rime di Petrarca*, ed. CARRER. Padua, 1837, II., 434. [Sonnet cvi., MACGREGOR'S translation, in *Sonnets, Triumphs, and other Poems of Petrarch.* London, 1849.]

[2] 'Baldacco' is Petrarch's word. Italian commentators do not seem to have known that this means Bagdad, which at that time was considered as the capital of the whole non-Christian world, the Rome of paganism. Thus BALDWIN OF NINOVE says, "Hæc civitas Bandas "(Bagdad) est caput totius Paganismi, sicut Roma Christianismi."—*Corpus Chronicorum Flandriæ*, ed. SMETS, II., 713.

endeavoured to render him harmless. Like most Seers of the later centuries, he also professed not to be actually a Prophet, but only an enlightened inquirer, to whom the Holy Spirit had disclosed the interpretation first of the *Apocalypse*, and secondarily of the prophetic utterances of Merlin and Joachim. FROISSART, who judges him on the whole very favourably, depicts him as a Priest and a man of culture no less pious than intellectual; and probably it was from this man's visions that Petrarch derived his expectation of the spread of Muhammadan dominion over western Europe, or at any rate over Italy. Jean de la Rochetaillade felt himself specially strong just where Joachim had shown himself to be weak, viz. in fixing exact dates for the immediate future: and he saw his way to compressing within the narrow space of a few years (1356 to 1370) a marvellous profusion of extraordinary complications, of radical catastrophes and sudden revolutions. Changes, which, according to the experience of the past, would require centuries for their accomplishment, were foretold as coming to pass in a few months. For him as a genuine Spiritualist it is precisely the observation or transgression of his Order's rigid rule of poverty that is the inmost kernel of the history of the world.[1]

His boldness in fixing dates for future events.

The welfare of the world is made to depend on the observance of the Franciscan rule.

[1] He says in so many words in his prophetical commentary:—"Transgressores ordinis fratrum minorum sunt in causa, quod omnes "præfatæ tribulationes infundentur in orbem."—JOHANNES DE RUPESCISSA, Liber inscriptus *Vade mecum in tribulatione*, in BROWN, *Fasciculus*, II., 403.

According to his notion, the transgressors of the rigid rule of poverty in the Order are the true causes of all the plague and calamities with which mankind are now visited. The salvation of the world and of the Church can now only come from two "poor cord-wearers" (Cordelarii, *i.e.* Franciscans), of whom the one will become Pope and the other Cardinal; though first, however, blows will fall, so heavy and so crushing, that the whole Church would be destroyed by them, if that were at all possible. But then, even before the year 1370, the great "Restoration" will begin. The whole world will be converted, will unite itself in one Church, and willingly submit itself to the universal dominion of the Pope.

His ill-success and unhappy end.

The monk had given his prophetic utterances so near a limit, that the exposure of the error very soon commenced; and the court at Avignon considered itself justified in detaining the Prophet, now proved to be false, in prison till the day of his death. Several of his predictions, however, did come to pass,—so Froissart tells us on hearsay.

Two prophetic women, who coming close in succession in the previous, that is, the fourteenth century, received high honour both during their lifetime and after their death. Of these the one, viz. CATHERINE OF SIENNA, was and remained a special authority for Italians in particular, while the other, BRIGITTA, was prized and diligently read as a divinely-enlightened Prophetess in the whole of western Christendom. Brigitta was for her own

CATHERINE of SIENNA, died 1380.

BRIGITTA, died 1373.

High repute of Brigitta,

and following time to a certain extent what Joachim had been till then; for even from the close of the fourteenth century Brigitta and Joachim were commonly mentioned together as the two chief prophetic authorities. The visions and revelations, which she left at her decease, were examined and approved by Popes and Councils, and defended by considerable theologians, such as Torquemada. But it will always remain an astonishing phenomenon, that these writings, which discuss at such length and so searchingly the corruption prevalent in the Church, were so highly prized by the leaders and spokesmen of the Church itself, that is, by the very men who themselves did nothing towards remedying the state of things there denounced. They contained the gravest charges against the Popes, dark representations of the Roman Curia, their venality, their simoniacal corruption; they drew frightful pictures of the degeneracy of the Clergy, and also of the great religious Orders; and all this was put by Brigitta into the mouth of God Himself. And nevertheless the Roman See allowed Joachim to be honoured as a saint;[1] and it canonized not only Brigitta, but also Bonaventura,[2] who in short cutting words had pointed out the Curia as the

even with those whom she denounced.

Canonization of Brigitta, 1391; of Bonaventura, 1482; of Vincent Ferrer, 1455.

[1] [But an attempt to procure his formal canonization at Rome in 1346 seems to have been unsuccessful.—ROBERTSON, *History of the Christian Church*. London, 1866, III., 212.]

[2] [The "Seraphic Doctor." He died at the Council of Lyons in 1274. Gregory X., Pope by Bonaventura's nomination, the Emperor, and the whole Council attended his funeral. Sixtus IV., a Franciscan Pope, canonized him in 1482, and in 1587 Sixtus V. made him the sixth Doctor of the Church.]

great whore clothed in scarlet, and Vincent Ferrer,[1] who fifty years after Brigitta painted the ruin of the Church in still darker colours. These Prophets usually exhibited in the distant future, or even as already quite close at hand, a comprehensive and miraculous purification and renovation of the Church, which was to be accomplished by visible intervention of celestial powers. Such, however, is not the case with Vincent and Bonaventura. But when this change and general conversion never once came to pass, or else made people wait a long time for it, then the result could not fail to be, that men (in doubt whether the Church had any vital power, seeing that she was no longer equal to the task of reforming herself) at last took the matter into their own hands and determined to carry the work of reformation through to the end; if necessary, even amid the storms of a violent and unsparing revolution. It is only lately that attention has been once more directed in Italy to S. Brigitta, whose form for a long time seemed as it were to have perished from view. She declares that the Leonine city, or, as she expresses it, the part of the city from the Vatican and S. Peter's to the Castello di S. Angelo, and from thence to S. Spirito, had been shown to her as a plain surrounded by a very strong wall, in which various dwellings stood, all along the wall; that is to say, just like a Belgian Beguine convent. At the same time she had heard

A restoration of the Church commonly prophesied.

Modern application of a prophecy of S. Brigitta.

[1] [See note, p. 67.]

a voice saying: "The Pope, who loves the Church "as I and my friends have loved it, will take pos- "session of these places, that he may be able the "more freely and peacefully to summon his coun- "sellors unto him."[1] This has not been overlooked in very recent times; and the Saint and Prophetess so highly esteemed by the Church, and canonized moreover for this very gift of prophecy, is made to say to the present Pope, that he would have more peace and freedom for ecclesiastical deliberations, if he and his were confined to the Leonine city, than as the ruler of a state.[2]

Prophecies when they aimed at being definite went utterly astray.

Precisely in the fourteenth century, when what was unnatural and horrible was as readily believed as it was frequently realized in fact, and when the history of the states of Europe seemed to proceed in sickly convulsions, prophetic utterance, so soon as it attached itself to definite indications of time and concrete events, usually went quite astray. Here is an example. The year 1348 and two years following are among the most extraordinary of that time, and the most pregnant with events. Accordingly the chronicle of MICHAEL DE LEONE quotes the prophecy of a "great Astrologer" respecting the year 1348. "One man will be "Lord of all; the Roman Empire will be raised "up. The tyrant, the King of France will fall

Instance of a prophecy cited by Michael de Leone.

[1] *Revel.*, 6, 74.

[2] Compare the treatise of GENNARELLI, which appeared quite lately in Florence, *Capitoli per la libertà religiosa e pontificia.*

"with his Barons; the Pope with his Cardinals "will be brought to nought."[1] Added to that we have predictions of terrible famine and mortality, some commonplaces about meteorological phenomena, and a couple of unintelligible denunciations. Now here we have certainly a possible intimation of the frightful pestilence of the Black Death, which at that time filled the whole of Europe with terror; but the rest is altogether wrong. The Roman Empire was at that time so far from being raised up, that rather the reign of Charles IV., which commenced just then, must be noted as a moment of still deeper degradation[2] of the Empire. King Philip of France did not fall, and the Pope and his Cardinals sat quietly at Avignon. Here again, no doubt, we have a case of prophecies which are only transformed wishes.

1347–1378.

The failure of the Crusades a great stimulus to attempts at prophecy.

The unhappy results of the Crusades, and the general unwillingness to renounce the long-cherished hope of winning back Palestine and the Holy City, generated in southern Europe a special kind of prophetic sayings. As early as the year 1205, in a treatise entitled *De semine*

[1] In Böhmer, *Fontes rerum German*, I., 434, 'Dissipabitur' is the word he uses of the Pope and the Cardinals.

[2] [Milman gives a saying of Ockham, quoted in *Wolfii Lectiones*, p. 496, in which Charles IV. is described as "mancipium Avinonen-"sium sacrificulorum a quibus imperium emerat." But the "Golden Bull," due perhaps rather to Charles' good fortune than to his wisdom, must ever redeem his reign from insignificance.]

scripturarum,[1] it was prophesied, that in a hundred years the Holy Land would be won back, and the Church would be freed from simony as the cause of its loss. Some years later a whole string of similar attempts at prophesying, each more positive and definite than its predecessors, were made in South Italy. In this work the Carmelites, who fancied they had a claim to certain places in Palestine, were specially active. They represented Christ as having revealed to one of their mythical Saints, Angelus, that a holy and powerful King of the House of France would, in conjunction with the Pope, undertake a "Passa-" gium," and deliver the Holy City out of the hands of the infidels.[2] When then the Spanish House of Arragon obtained the supremacy in Naples, other essays at prophesying were made, promising these Princes or their successors a great World-Empire, brilliant conquests in North and South, and among them even the taking of Jerusalem.[3] For this Joachim is once more made to lend assistance, and along with him JOHANNES AQUITANUS and JOHANNES RALA were quoted as authors of similar prophecies. It was well for

The Carmelites interested in these.

A false idea of the past and

[1] See respecting it the *Notitia Sæculi* in KARAJAN'S *Zur Geschichte des Concils von Lyon*, p. 104.

[2] *Vita S. Angeli Carmelitæ*, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, BOLLAND. May, II., 821.

[3] They will be found in the BOLLANDISTS (l. c., p. 822), who took them from the treatise of JOHANNES BONATIUS, *De prophetis sui temporis*, Naples, 1660.

present leads to absurd predictions about the future.

those pious women, Catherine, Brigitta, and for those generally who troubled themselves at that time with the condition of the Church, that they lived only in the present and in a visionary future, while the past and the chain of causes and effects, which had conduced to the existing state of things in the Church, were unknown to them. They supposed that the corruption which lay before their eyes was something accidental, which had crept in quite in the most recent times, and which, therefore, by a sudden revulsion, a more abundant outpouring of heavenly grace, might again be made to disappear. The knowledge, which they did not possess, that this state of things was the result of the mutilation and deliberate destruction of ecclesiastical rules and institutions, would have plunged them into a labyrinth of doubts and pangs of conscience, and would have utterly unnerved them. Those well-meaning predictors of a Papa Angelicus, who now became so abundant in Italy, declared, that a simple-minded, pious man, who had passed his life in voluntary poverty and earnest asceticism, a second Cœlestine V., a stranger to all political aims and efforts, if raised to the Papal Chair, would suffice for the thorough reformation of the whole Church in the shortest space of time. In reality, for many centuries not a single Pope had effected any serious or lasting amelioration whatever in the condition of the Church; and among the Popes who followed one another in a long series from

Hence the ready belief that one good Pope could regenerate the Church,

contrary to the experience of centuries.

1300 to 1500, there was not one in whom the faith of the people could have fancied even for a single day, that it recognized the prophesied Papa Angelico.[1]

But still he was looked for with longing throughout all Italy, just as the right Emperor Frederick was looked for in Germany. In the year 1514 Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Pope Clement VII., then Vicar-General of the Bishop of Florence, caused a monk of the name of THEODORE to be put in prison for deluding the people with a story, that an Angel had revealed to him, that he, Theodore, would become the Papa Angelico, "for whom the "nations of Italy were looking."[2] It was laid to the charge of SAVONAROLA by his enemies, that, at the bottom of his coming forward in Florence publicly as a reformer, there was nothing more nor less than the intention of making himself Papa Angelicus. And moreover his followers really believed, that he had been chosen out for this purpose; and all the more so, because PROSPERO PITTI, who passed in Florence for a prophetically enlightened Priest, had some time before foretold, along with other events, the appearance of the bold preacher-monk, and the simultaneous arising of the

Savonarola believed to be the coming Papa Angelico

[1] The name arose merely through the misinterpretation of a passage in the old Latin poem, which was attributed to Tertullian. It is HERMAS, the author of the *Pastor* or *Shepherd*, who is there spoken of, and this Shepherd or Angel is designated as angelicus pastor.

[2] CAMBI, *Storie Fiorentine*, III., 60. MORENI, *Memorie della Basilica di S. Lorenzo*, II., 311.

"Angelic Pope." Savonarola himself declared afterwards under torture, that his object had not been to become Pope, but to bring about a General Council for the purifying of the Church.[1] In the midst of Rome, as early as the year 1491, a poorly clad street-preacher went out with a wooden cross in his hand, and, along with heavy retribution to be executed on Florence, Milan, and Venice, announced the revealing of the Pastore Angelico as quite close at hand. However, *there* people had not the slightest desire for any such Pope, who of course would have been obliged to commence with stopping the Romans' most productive sources of gain; and the Prophet was laughed at as crazy.[2]

No reforming Pope desired in Rome.

Obviously this expectation of an "Angelic Pope" sprang up on Italian soil. With the simplest means and in the shortest space of time,—though certainly, as was the general supposition, not until after a great massacre and a secularization of the Church property, which had become mere source of revenue for Priests,—he was to accomplish the giant work of a reformation, of a Church in very truth once more become evangelical. People soon discovered, however, that a single Angelicus would not be equal to this task, and so at a very early period—probably in the first instance towards the end of the fourteenth century—the prophecies

The belief in a future reforming Pope originated in Italy.

One being deemed insufficient, four reforming Popes are predicted

[1] Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, 3, 7.

[2] Steph. Infessura, *Diarium*, in Muratori, *Script. Ital.*, iii., 2, p. 1250.

lengthened out the single chosen one to a succession of four Angelic Popes.

The first who was supposed to have uttered this prophecy was the aged RABANUS, ARCHBISHOP OF MAYENCE. He had acquired the reputation of a Prophet through an accidental error, in that he was held to be the author of Adso's treatise on Antichrist; and now he was credited with the authorship of a prognostic, in which the four saving Popes were briefly indicated. Joachim also, in a supposititious treatise called the *Book of Flora*, and a so-called DANDALUS, from whose pen people believed that they possessed a *Revelation respecting the Popes*, were said to have borne testimony to the four hope-inspiring Popes.[1] Through the third of them the temporalities were to be utterly rooted out of the Church—a point which betrays the Joachimite and Minorite origin of the prediction,—and the fourth was to wander through the whole world as a preacher and promulgator of the Christian faith. Then, however, the final catastrophe would begin.

in prophecies attributed to Rabanus

and Dandalus.

Thus the opposition between the two schools or tendencies of the Joachimite and anti-Joachimite, the sanguine and the pessimists, continued for centuries. The monkish writer GIOVANNI DELLE CELLE, of Florence, expressed this opposition succinctly and conclusively in a treatise directed against the

Opposite conclusions from the same premises.

[1] BERTHOLD, BISHOP OF CHIEMSEE, *Onus Ecclesiæ*, 60, 8, 9, gives the passages.

Fraticelli.[1] "They say that the world will be "renovated. I say that it will go to ruin." Thus far, that the Church was in a most lamentable condition, that she was grievously diseased, and so disfigured as not to be recognisable, both parties were agreed. But the one side said; she can and she will be restored, though not without a terrible and bloody retribution coming first: after that, however, a long and blessed time of prosperity will follow for the Church. The other side declared, that the sickness of the Church would not lead to a new birth, but—so far as all symptoms indicated—to death, and that the catastrophes, which, according to biblical and traditional prophecy, are partly to precede, partly to accompany the appearance of the great Adversary, had already begun, or at any rate were close at hand. History has proved that both parties were wrong. In the time of the great Schism (1378–1455) prophecy, as HENRY OF LANGENSTEIN tells us, was in full bloom.[2] Seers into the future sprang up in abundance, who prophesied from the course of the stars, or from conjectures formed according to arbitrary rules, and found hearers. They had their vaticinations beautifully copied out and ornamented, as if they were literal revelations from the Holy Spirit. In short, they

The Church is so sick that she must get better.

The Church is so sick that she must die.

Prophecies abound during the Great Schism.

[1] Costoro dicono che'l mondo si dee rinovellare, ed io dico che dee rovinare. In the *Compendio di dottrina*, in the *Scelta di curiosità lett.* Bologna, 1861, disp. 86, p. 351.

[2] HENRICI DE HASSIA, *Liber contra vaticinia Telesphori*, *Thesaur. Anecdot.*, 1, 2, 516.

floated over the end of the Schism in a sea of prophecies, all of which ended ignominiously. The fate of one of these Prophets is told us by Henry of Langenstein. A learned monk, who was supposed to be a holy man, came to the monastery of Eberbeck from France. He had received revelations respecting the short duration of the Schism, and knew for certain that it would last only a few years. But when the years went by, and the Schism still continued, he said that he had not weighed the words of the Holy Spirit carefully enough; the Schism, as he now saw, would not come to an end till somewhat later. This limit, however, also passed, and the twofold Schism became a threefold one. Thereupon he was seized with such a feeling of shame, that he flung away his monk's dress, fled from the monastery, and plunged miserably clad as a layman into the neighbouring forests.

A late outcome of the circle of ideas and prophetic store of the Joachimite School is the treatise of the supposed hermit TELESPHORUS. He was a native, according to his own account, of Cosenza, and at the time of the Great Schism, towards the end of the fourteenth century, professed to have lived in the neighbourhood of Thebes, that is to say, of the place where formerly the ruins of Thebes stood. He tells us how, by the counsel of an angel, who appeared to him in the year 1386, he had plunged deeply into the study of the pro-

TELESPHORUS, the supposed hermit of Thebes,

phetic sayings of Cyril and Joachim, of Merlin, Dandalus, the Sybils, and the Chronicles of the Popes. The outcome of this study is with him the glorification of France and its King, and the French Popes. The slaying of the Antipope (the Italian one), who will be put to death at Perugia in the year 1393, is to put an end to the Schism. Whereupon there then follows a great renovation of the Church, and a return of the Clergy to apostolic poverty; for all riches and possessions will be taken from the Clergy. At the same time great wars will be waged between the nations of Europe, in which the two close allies, the true (that is the French) Pope and the French King, will be victorious. For he is the true Pope, for whom this King has declared himself; because the Kings of France in all papal schisms have always ranged themselves on the side of the rightful Pope, and he must be victorious, who is aided by the Pope; for which reason the French King must be so.

prophesies the exaltation of France and of French policy.

But it is very remarkable, that this Guelficly inclined Joachimite, who conceals himself under the name of Telesphorus, also appropriated to himself the stories, now more than a hundred years old, of the expected restorer of the Empire and the Church, the Emperor Frederick III.; only in order to reverse them. About the year 1409—so runs his prophecy—will this German Frederick arise from the seed of the second Frederick, and make himself Emperor, will smite down the Roman

He takes up the stories about a third and victorious Frederick, and reverses them.

Church and set up a German Antipope, will cause a general massacre of the Clergy, and then will withdraw from Italy to France. King Charles is taken prisoner by him, but, being freed from prison by a miracle, defeats and slays this German Emperor. Whereupon the Papa Angelicus, who meanwhile has been raised to the Chair of S. Peter, deprives the German Princes, once and for ever, of their right of electing the Emperor, nominates the French King Charles Emperor, and crowns him. Both of them, the Emperor and the Pope, then go on an expedition to Palestine, which they completely conquer. Then follows the conversion of all mankind, and peace throughout the world.[1]

Thus this prophecy, so pretentious in its appearance, and claiming to be founded on the authority of an Angel, developes itself as a programme of French hopes and political aims moulded into this prophetical form; and it was certainly much read and believed. To transfer the imperial power to the royal House of France had for long been a pet scheme of French Princes and statesmen. In Germany an attempt was made to weaken the effect of the vaticination in two ways,—one by a counter-prophetic effusion, the other by a theological refutation.

Two attempts made in Germany to meet this prediction.

[1] *Telesphorus* was printed at Venice in 1515; but this edition is so rare, that moderns, such as Papenbrock and Morheim, know Telesphorus only from manuscripts. The present writer used the Venetian edition. Muratori also has printed the beginning of it in the *Antiquitates Ital.*, III., 949.

1. A counter-prophecy ascribed to one GAMALEON.

The prophetic Anti-Telesphorus of the Germans is said to have borne the name of GAMALEON, to have been a relation of Pope Boniface IX., and to have imparted to this Pontiff his insight into the future in the year 1390.[1] Like Telesphorus, he too makes a French King be crowned Roman Emperor by the Pope. This potentate will wrest the Empire from the turbulent Germans; Rome and Italy will become dependent on him. The Clergy, as the Prophet goes on to say, have destroyed all empires of this world and all principalities. At last they will wrest the Empire from the German nation and afterwards strive utterly to annihilate all temporal Princes. Then, however, the Roman Emperor will march forth from the Lilienfeld, will conquer Rome, put to death all lords and tyrants of the Roman Empire, and capture the King of France; and in future there will be no more mention of the Kingdom of France, but only of the German Empire. A German Patriarchate is then founded at Mayence, the countries and nations of Germany are greatly exalted and honoured, and live with their new Shepherd—which means, no doubt, the Patriarch of Mayence, who is to be exalted to the dignity of Pope;—after which one more expedition to the Holy Land, the final one, will be undertaken.

[1] His prophecy is to be found in the Collection of WOLFGANG LAZIUS, *Fragmentum vaticinii cujusdam Methodii, &c.* Vienna, 1547. f. hij.

Lazius has omitted the long description of the ruin of the Church in quoting this prophetic effusion. But in it one already begins to hear the first sounds of thoughts and purposes, which came to the surface later on in the great Peasants' War.

2. A refutation on theological grounds by Henry of Langenstein.

The theological refutation of Telesphorus was undertaken by the most considerable theologian of that time,—Henry of Langenstein. His book shows above everything, that Joachimism in Germany, no less than in France, had decided opponents. Henry rejects as an heretical notion of Joachim and his disciple Telesphorus, their speaking of the "leprosy of the Church that has become "an harlot,"—an idea which was quite frequent in the Italian Joachimites, especially since the Guelf party had adopted the practice of making Pope and Church convertible terms, and of calling themselves the Church party. In Germany, however, this still had a strange and offensive sound. People were ready enough to admit that the Roman Curia might deserve the apocalyptic designation; but they could not tolerate that the whole Church should be so called. Henry of Langenstein found it not less offensive that the Prophet of Cosenza should say to the Laity, that in appropriating Church property, and in robbing the Clergy, they were being the executors of the Divine will.[1]

In Germany people were indignant that the corruption of the Curia should be held to condemn the Church.

[1] Had he had a closer acquaintance with the still numerous Spiritualists and Fraticelli in the South of Europe, he would easily have recognized a member of this community in Telesphorus. For to the

Henry, no doubt, saw through the fact, that the Prophet was taken up with homage and flattery to be paid to the French court; without, however, remarking what the connection was. Genoa, that is to say, was at that time to be brought under the dominion of France; which also came to pass about Christmas time in the year 1386. But Telesphorus sent his book a little while beforehand with a letter of dedication to Antonio, the Doge of Genoa; without doubt in order to instruct him that the Republic (which, however, still recognized the supremacy of the Emperor) would do better in submitting to the French King Charles VI., inasmuch as he in a short time would himself be Emperor.

Political object of Telesphorus.

Denunciations against the Papacy increase as the Reformation approaches.

In fine, the nearer the human race approached to the great epoch of the Reformation, and the division of Christendom, the more threatening became the prophetic voices, the more sharply was their sting directed against the Papacy. Just as in former times the Irish used to relate of their Saint Columba, that God had espoused to him the Spirit of prophecy in the form of a marvellously beautiful Queen,[1] so one might say, that prophecy at this time wore the face of a Gorgon that turned all to stone, or that, at any rate at the best, it was like a sorrowful widow clad in garments of mourn-

things, which, according to his prediction, were soon to be fulfilled, belonged the dissolution of all religious Orders; whereupon a new one, which Joachim had already announced, would be founded. Out of its body would thenceforth all future Popes proceed.

[1] *Acta Sanctorum*, Bolland. January II., 330.

ing. There was no longer any need of a special prophetic gift. Everyone believed that he was able to announce with certainty the sudden coming of a great catastrophe. Centuries before this the revered Bishop of Lincoln, GROSTÊTE, had declared on his deathbed, that only with fire and sword could a cure of the Church's wounds be effected. And in like spirit a man of altogether different temperament, but the keenest observer of his time, MACHIAVELLI, said,—"One of two things must come "upon the Roman Church, either utter ruin or a "very heavy chastisement."[1] At the same time also PICO DI MIRANDOLA expected, as he stated in his address to Leo X., that in Italy, of whose condition in Church matters he gave a horrible description, the hard and bloody punishment at the hands of an avenging Providence had already commenced, and that still worse was to come.[2]

Grostête of Lincoln. 1253.

Machiavelli, 1469–1527.

Pico di Mirandola, 1463–1494.

A little before this Italy had seen in one of her great men the most famous Prophet since Joachim, the Dominican preacher GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA. He, however, had to pay for his firm belief in his call to be a seer, and for the boldness of his warnings, with his life. On the prophetic powers of Savonarola the opinions of his contemporaries were as divided as those of men of recent times.

SAVONAROLA, 1452–1498.

[1] Esser propinquo senza dubbio o la rovina o il flagello. *Discorsi sopra Livio*, I., 12. *Opere*, Firenze, 1843, 273.

[2] ROSCOE, *Vita e Pontif. di Leone X.*, trad. da BOSSI. Milan, 1817. VIII., iii.; Oratio ad Leonem X. Pontificem.

His prophetic power apparently real.

But, nevertheless, it is becoming more and more generally acknowledged, that this extraordinary man (as the best of his biographers, VILLARI, has expressly said) was really possessed of a special gift of divination. The historian COMINES, who never mentions him but in terms of high admiration, declares that he himself had been told things by Savonarola, which no one believed, and which had all come true. MACHIAVELLI at any rate did not dare to contradict his prophesyings, "because "one must speak with reverence of so great a "man."[1] GUICCIARDINI preferred to withhold his judgment, until time should have decided respecting Savonarola's predictions.

Similar instances in CICERO,

Two statesmen have stated with regard to themselves, that in the Commonwealth in which they lived, nothing of importance had ever come, which they had not foreseen. CICERO makes this statement respecting himself;[2] and the other, the French-

and DU BAIR.

man DU BAIR, goes still further, and assures us, that, not only in public life, but also in his

[1] *Discorsi*, I., 12, p. 272.

[2] It will be found in his *Epistolæ ad Familiares*, VI., 6. ["Si te ratio quædam etruscæ disciplinæ, quam a patre, nobilissimo atque optimo viro, acceperas, non fefellit: nec nos quidem nostra divinatio fallet, quam tum sapientissimorum vivorum monumentis, atque præceptis, plurimoque, ut tu scis, doctrinæ studio, tum magno etiam usu tractandæ reipublicæ, magnaque nostrorum temporum varietate consecuti sumus. Cui quidem divinationi hoc plus confidimus, quod ea nos nihil in his tam obscuris rebus, tamque perturbatis unquam omnino fefellit. Discerem quæ antea futura dixissem, ni vererer, ne ex eventis fingere viderer, &c." Cæcina, to whom the letter is addressed, belonged to an Etruscan gens.]

private life, nothing happened, which he did not in each case see coming beforehand.[1] It would seem as if Savonarola was a similarly organized nature.

The nature of Savonarola's prophetic power.

Savonarola's prophecies were partly the result of natural insight and unusual keenness of vision, partly had their origin in biblical studies as conclusions which he drew from the course of Jewish history and applied to Christian, partly (to conclude) were interpretations of visions, which he had had. For he himself tells us of two enormous crosses, which appeared to him along with other wonderful figures on the night of Good Friday in the year 1492, and the way in which he interpreted them.[2] The saintly Pope of the future also, in whose speedy appearance he believed, had been shown to him in a vision. He had seen his figure and face without knowing as yet who he was, and whether he was an Italian or a foreigner.[3] That the inclination to believe in his own and other people's visions was developed in him to the pitch of superstition, is shown by his putting faith in the Angel's voice, which his

[1] This statement of Du Bair's, who was President of the Parliament of Provence at the time of the Civil War and under Henry IV., and the first parliamentary speaker of his century, is in MÉNAGE, *Observations sur la langue française*, II., 110. Between the Roman, however, and the Frenchman there is this difference,—that Du Bair attributes his own foresight to a sagacity which he owes to nature, whereas Cicero believed that his divinatio was due to many years' study and to a long political experience gradually acquired in public business.

[2] *Compendium revelationum*, Ulm, 1469. Fol. 9.

[3] *Oracolo della renovazione*, Fol. 115.

fellow Dominican Maruffi declared that he had heard.[1] Hence it was his fortune, that his political prophesyings came to pass, while his religious ones remained unfulfilled. His predicting the utterly unexpected expedition of the French under Charles VIII. into Italy, and the expulsion of the Medici from Florence, confirmed and spread his reputation as a Prophet. But he announced and depicted with the greatest distinctness a speedy and utter devastation of Rome with fire and sword, because Rome was the great seductress and source of vices for the whole of Christendom.[2]

His political not his religious predictions are fulfilled.

He prophesies the destruction of Rome;

This destruction never came to pass. He further declared, that, after many grievous plagues and visitations, with which God intended to visit His Church, she would be raised up again, as she had been in the time of the Apostles. The idea from which Savonarola started was this;—if the Church is fallen so low, is poisoned so utterly and entirely, as we see to be the case in the Latin Church, especially in Italy, then a revival *must* come without further delay, otherwise one would have to suppose, that God had irrevocably rejected this Bride, as of old he rejected the Synagogue, and had left her helpless to her ruin; a supposition, which, according to all principles of faith, was

the complete regeneration of the Church;

[1] See *Villari*, I., 296.

[2] *Oracolo della renovazione della chiesa.* Venice, 1543. Fol. 101. Here all that is prophetic in reference to the Church has been collected from the writings of Savonarola by the Florentine Dominican, Luca Bettini.

untenable. However, a reformation, such as he conceived and desired, has never yet come about. He was not more happy in the assurance, that the regeneration of the Church would be accompanied by the general conversion of all unbelievers. On the other hand, he foresaw quite rightly that his profession of Prophet and the whole position, into which he was forced by others rather than had forced himself, would bring about his destruction. He yearned, he said, to return into port from the deep sea, out on to which he had drifted; but this was no longer possible. The cause, which he represented, would conquer; but he himself would in consequence suffer death; "for the Master, who wields the "hammer, flings it, when he has done with it, "away." At the end of March, 1498, he continued to preach;—"Rome will not quench this fire, and "if this were quenched, God would kindle "another, and it is already kindled everywhere, "only they do not know it." On the 23rd of May he was executed, according to the judgment of the Pope, as a heretic; according to the opinion of his Order and of his numerous disciples, as a witness to the truth. An office was dedicated to him as to a sainted martyr, and persons, who themselves were canonized at Rome, such as Catherine Ricci and Philip Neri, have honoured and invoked him as such.

and the conversion of all unbelievers.

He clearly foresaw his own fate.

Burnt as a heretic;

honoured as a martyr.

Near the time of the Reformation a kind of

Fictitious Prophets in Germany.

popular treasury of prophecies grew up in Germany,—at once expressing and fostering the national wishes and expectations. Methodius, Joachim, Brigitta, Hildegard, and the so-called sibylline revelations, Germany possessed in common with the whole western world. A man like Savonarola, who claimed to possess prophetic gifts and won recognition from others, never arose in Germany. But the names of mythical personages were invented to father the prophetic sayings which arose in the mind of the people. Thus they had a hermit Prophet, JOHN LICHTENBERGER; and when in the Lay on the Cologne War, 1475, it is said that

JOHN LICHTENBERGER.

> "Publicly three years ago
> A man of Mainz foretold it so;
> John Lichtenberger is his name,
> In all the land well known to fame;"[1]

this merely means that the Lichtenberger prophecies were known in all Germany; not by any means that the living Prophet himself was a universally known personage. The prophecies which bore his name were a favourite book and widely spread, as the number of editions up to 1528 shows. They are a mixed collection, not all by one author, having reference to Germany and more particularly the Netherlands, and belonging

[1] "Das hat vor dreien Jahren offenbar
Geweissaget einer von Mainz fürwar,
Johann Lichtenberger ist er genannt,
In dem ganzen Reich wolbekannt."
In LILIENCRON, *Histor. Volkslieder*, II., 58.

to the latter part of the fifteenth century. A Lollard (pietist) REINHARD, with a book *On Great Tribulations*, and then the Sibyl and Brigitta were made use of in this collection ; and a great massacre of the Clergy in the time of the Emperor Maximilian was foretold. And LUTHER, who published a fresh edition of Lichtenberger in the year 1527, remarks in the preface, that after the Peasants' War of 1525 the Clergy rejoiced, because now the prophecies of Lichtenberger were fulfilled and the danger consequently over.

For some time past there certainly had been a feeling of great anxiety, with regard to the approaching catastrophe, diffused among the German Clergy. They felt how much hate and suspicion had accumulated in all sections of the nation against an order which morally had sunk so low, and which was systematically corrupted from the head downwards. Two Priests in South Germany, WOLFGANG AYTINGER in Augsburg and JOSEPH GRÜNPECKH in Ratisbon, gave expression to this gloomy expectation at the time ; the first in the year 1496 in a *Commentary on Methodius*,[1] the other in the year 1508 in a *Mirror of Vision*,[2] the very title-page of which exhibits a church in flames, falling into ruins. While Aytinger attributes the evil mainly to the ecclesiastical corruptness of the

Forebodings of Wolfgang Aytinger, 1496 ;

[1] *Tractatus super Methodium.* Augsburg, 1496.

[2] *Speculum naturalis, cœlestis et propheticæ visionis.* Nuremberg, 508.

of Joseph Grünpeckh, 1508;

Roman Curia, which has become an infernal abyss devouring everything; Grünpeckh declares, that for several years the expectation, that a mighty storm would shortly break over Church and Clergy, was spread far and wide over Germany; wherever men, or even women and children, were gathered together and conversed, there the saying was repeated, that there soon would be an attack made on the Clergy. Such attempts at prophecy were spread among the masses, partly by pious and well-meaning persons, who, however divinely enlightened, were of limited intellectual powers, partly by the mischievous, who had in view a plundering of Church property. Grünpeckh gives as his opinion, that a worse state of corruption than that which in his time prevailed in the clerical order can scarcely be conceived: nevertheless he adds a warning to the effect, that the Laity need not exult so much over the visitation which threatened the Clergy, for the dregs or poison at the bottom of the cup given to the Clergy, would at last have to be drunk by them—the Laity.

and of John Hagen.

Another Priest, JOHN HAGEN,[1] Dean of S. Leonard in Frankfort, wrote still more openly at that time, and as a result of his astrological studies prophesied a great change in the Church, a deprivation and humbling of the haughty Clergy;—"With perfect "justice we Clerics are objects of universal hatred; "we deserve it."

[1] Letter, &c. Johannis ab Indagine in the *Neue Beiträge von theologischen Sachen*, 1752, pp. 456–477.

Fear, sorrow, and bitterness, from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, filled Germany with attempts at prophecy. The discontent of the Laity was not greater than that of the Clergy themselves, ever since the Papal See had rendered vain all the hopes of Church reform which had been built upon the Council of Basle. A prophetic voice of this kind from the Clergy was attributed to the most famous German theologian of his time, HENRY OF LANGENSTEIN, commonly called HENRY OF HESSE, but is no doubt of later origin. It complained that since Nicholas III. every Pope and every Bishop had been guilty of simony; and it promised a reformation of the Roman Church through the instrumentality of the Germans, the Franks, and their Emperor.[1] For that the succour for the ruined Church must come, if at all, from the Laity, and above all from a pious Emperor, was always keenly felt. Saint Brigitta herself, as she tells us, was told by Christ, that the King, for whom she had just then been praying, must assemble together wise and religiously enlightened men, and with them take counsel, how the ruined walls of the Church might be built up again, the Clergy be cured of their arrogance, and again be made humble and chaste. "For my Church hath of a truth "estranged itself all too far from me."[2] 1277–1280.

Hence it came to pass that prophetic sayings of German origin were much taken up with a Pope

[1] DENIS, *Codices MS. theologici Biblioth.* Vindob., p. 1572.
[2] *Revelationes*, 6, 26, p. 436.

that was to arise in Germany, who, according to one prophecy, would first of all be raised by the Princes to be Patriarch of Mayence, but afterwards would be crowned as Pope upon German soil. As Patriarch of the Church of Germany he would place the crown on the head of an Emperor chosen from out of the Rhineland, and the latter would then take up arms against the Lily-Emperor (that is, the French usurper of the imperial dignity, whom Telesphorus had predicted), would slay him and take Rome. John Wünschelburg, Priest in Amberg, was said to have announced this from the pulpit in the year 1409,[1] that is to say at the time of the Great Schism, when the idea had occurred to not a few that the best way of reconciling the rival claims of the French and the Italians to the possession of the Papacy might be the creation of a German Pope.

1378-1418.

Berthold's *Burden of the Church* marks the close of mediæval prophecy.

We may regard the work of Bishop Berthold, written in the year 1519, on *the Burden of the Church*,[2] as the close and limit of mediæval prophecy. The author is still altogether within the Joachimite circle of ideas; he holds to the theory of the seven epochs of the Church; his sources and authorities are Methodius, Cyril, and the Abbot of Calabria, along with those Prophets whom the

[1] Jo. Wolfii, *Lectiones memorab.*, I., 728.

[2] Using "burden" in the sense of Isaiah, xiii. 1. [The burden of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amos did see], as equivalent to "pro-"phetic sentence."

Church had canonized, VINCENT FERRER, CATHERINE OF SIENNA, BRIGITTA, and HILDEGARD. In a very searching way he draws a dark picture of the depth and universality of the Church's degradation, and reflects upon the Roman See as the chief cause of the evil; at the same time his views and expectations as to the immediate future are the gloomiest that can be conceived. Of the great historical significance of Luther he has not the slightest suspicion, and notices the Lutherans merely as a mischievous party just coming into existence. He has no doubt about the extermination (exterminium) of the Papal See; but this will be followed by its re-establishment and glorification. And one sees clearly in his case how powerful at that time in Germany the conviction was, that the national spirit of the Italians, incorporated in its worst elements in the papal Curia, had done grievous harm to the well-being of Germany, politically no less than morally and religiously; and that now both nations, the Italians first, as had already been the case since 1510, and the Germans no doubt not long after them, would have to pay the penalty in bloody wars and revolutions.

His gloomy anticipations.

Akin to this, and yet inspired by an altogether different spirit, is the *Nollhart* of the Swiss poet, PAMPHILUS GENGENBACH.[1] All the prophetic per-

Pampl Genge

[1] *Pamphilus Gengenbach*, by GÖDEKE. Hanover, 1856, pp. 77, &c.

sonages, with whom the Germans were so familiar —Methodius, Cyril, Joachim, Brigitta, Reinhard,—are here quoted. The Pope, the Emperor, the King of France, and the Sultan ask questions, and the answers which they receive form a complete prophetic course of history in the past and in the future, down to the appearance of Antichrist. The object of it seems to have been to give the Emperor Maximilian a hint, that he was under an obligation to fulfil the prophetic sayings, which make the Emperor or King of Germany conquer Rome and reform the Church.

"And pray who may this Emperor be?" asks Maximilian, when Brigitta told him that a King should entirely reform the Church, and bring back to the Empire that which it had lost. Thereupon his own name is named to him, and Methodius gives him the further comforting assurance that the Roman Empire will never fall.

Conclusion.

"My thoughts are not your thoughts." "As "the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my "thoughts higher than your thoughts."[1]—With these words of the Prophet, which doubtless have already occurred to many a reader, the present account of the Prophets of the first fifteen centuries after Christ may close.

[1] Isaiah, lv. 89.

APPENDIX A

THE PROPHECY OF HERMANN OF LEHNIN

THIS pretended prophecy, attributed to a certain monk Hermann, who is supposed to have been an inmate of the monastery of Lehnin in Brandenburg about the year 1300, is celebrated in Germany where political and theological fanaticism have often made use of it as a weapon against the reigning family in Prussia. The literature on the subject is considerable. The titles and a brief account of some of the treatises already in existence will be given below. A further discussion of the forgery is among the works which the world may hope to see from the pen of Dr. Döllinger, if his life is spared.

A brief study of the prophecy will suffice to convince any impartial reader that it *is* a forgery. The lines agree with historical events down to the year 1690. After that all is vague or demon-

strably false. One or two apparent coincidences with history subsequent to 1690 are remarkable, and will be discussed at the proper place. The attempts which have been made to force other details in the latter part of the prediction into agreement with known facts are so monstrous that to state them is sufficient to ensure their rejection. No person not interested in the genuineness of the prophecy would tolerate them for an instant. For the present then we may assume that the forgery was perpetrated about 1690, evidently by a Catholic, who had a righteous horror of the Reformation, and was well read in the annals of the House of Brandenburg. Some attempts will be made hereafter to show who the forger was.

But the history of the document itself is such as at once to rouse suspicion. Its defenders tell us that it was kept secret on political grounds for many years in a private family.[1] When this family became extinct, the MS. passed into other hands, and thus became known in Berlin first at the close of the seventeenth century. We cannot, however,

[1] Or again, that it had been found built up in an old wall or in a chimney, at the end of the reign of Frederick William or beginning of the reign of Frederick III., who now and then came to Lehnin for heron-hawking; or that a monk of Lehnin had engraved the prophecy on brazen plates, and that it had thus been preserved. The variety of the stories goes far to prove their falsehood. A writer in the *Allgemeine Anzeiger der Deutschen*, 1807, no. 241, was bold enough to say, that he had had in his possession a MS. of the prophecy written in 1431 by a monk of Lehnin named Burkhardt, of which, however, some kind friend had relieved him six years before. Perhaps the fiction was only intended to attract attention to the prophecy.

get back much farther than 1693, in which year Martin Weise, private physician to the Elector, and Martin Frederick von Seidel both died. The former is known to have copied the prophecy, the latter to have commented on it. The Berlin librarian De la Croze says,[1] that in 1697 the late Herr von Schönhausen showed him a copy of the prophecy, which *appeared* to De la Croze to be more than fifty years old. It was probably intended to appear old. Professor Giesebrecht is mistaken in supposing[2] this to be the earliest notice of the prophecy. George Peter Schulz had a copy in Berlin, where he was Professor at the Ritter-akademie 1709 to 1711, which he printed 1723 in *Das Gelehrte Preussen* (II., 289), of which he was editor. Twelve years before it was printed Des Vignoles attacked it as being probably a forgery, but placed it as early as the time of John Sigismund. His criticism, written in French, was translated in Oebrich's *Beiträge zur brandenburgischen Geschichte.* John C. Beckman, Professor at Frankfort on the Oder, who died 1717, translated the prophecy into verse. In 1721 some portions of the MS., which had now begun to attract considerable attention, were printed. Then came Schulz's edition in 1723, as mentioned above. He omits lines 51, 58, 80, 83, possibly out of consideration

[1] Oebrich's *Beiträge zur brandenburgischen Geschichte.* Berlin, 1761. p. 328.

[2] Essay in Schmidt's *Zeitschrift für Geschichte.* VI., 433.

to the reigning House, especially Frederick William I.; although this does not explain the omission of 58, nor yet the non-omission of other lines. In 1736 Frederick II., then Crown Prince and not expected to survive his father, caused the prophecy to be explained by Nazmer, and said with regard to the passage, "Qui sequitur pravos imitatur pessimus agros, &c.," which was commonly supposed to refer to Frederick William's successor, "Je ne serai pas pessimus; je mourrai donc."[1] And Denina[2] says of him, "Il se moquoit assez de toutes les prédictions. Néanmoins il parut curieux de voir un certain livre de prophéties dans le goût de Nostradamus, qu'on disoit avoir été trouvé dans le vieux monastère de Lehnin." During the first years of Frederick II.'s reign several editions of the prophecy appeared in Germany, some of them under the name of Zoroaster, who is thought to be G. P. Schulz. Meanwhile J. C. Weise, Minister at Lehnin, had been making a still more serious attack on the prophecy than that of Des Vignoles. Weise's for some years remained unpublished, but was made use of by Henkel in *Frater Hermannus Lehninensis redivivus.* Leipzig, 1745. Küster wrote to the same effect in 1741; and in 1746 Weise published his criticisms under the title *Vaticinium metricum D. F. Hermanni Monachi in Lenyn*, oder *Bruder Her-*

[1] *Journal secret* of the imperial ambassador von Seckendorf.
[2] *Essai sur la vie et le règne de Frédéric II.* Berlin, 1788. p. 454.

manns vorgegebene Weissagung, erläutert durch einen Erforscher der Wahrheit. Berlin, 1746.

The Royal Library at Berlin possesses four MSS., which are the oldest known, belonging, according to the inscriptions, to the beginning of the eighteenth century. None of them appear to be original. Another was taken from the State Archives in Berlin to be shown to Frederick William II. in 1796. It was never returned, and is supposed to be lost. But another came to the Archives in 1821 in the Kindlinger[1] legacy. It differs greatly in readings from the other four; but the variations in the text appear to be very capricious,—lines transposed or omitted, just as suited the fancy of the copyist.

With regard to the general tone of the prophecy one may adopt the judgment of Friedrich Wilken contained in a MS., left by him and published by his son in Schmidt's *Zeitschrift für Geschichte.* Though it would be presumptuous to say that no one, however gifted, can ever see into the future, yet only those who *are* highly gifted can do so. One looks for dignity, gravity, and seriousness, both in tone and language. The wit, the jester, and the scoffer, have not much in common with the Prophet. On these grounds the Lehnin prophecy stands condemned at once. One is, however,

[1] Nicolas Kindlinger was originally a Minorite at Münster, then in succession keeper of the Archives at Essen and Fulda, and finally parish priest in his birthplace Neudorf in Rheingau. He died 1819.

a little surprised when Wilken goes on to urge the *excellence* of the Latinity as an argument against the genuineness of the prophecy. Wie sollte nur ein Mönch dazu kommen, in so reiner und gelehrter lateinischer Sprache, welche keine Spur mönchischer Bildung trägt, sich ausdrücken ?

The texts of the prophecy vary somewhat, as has been already remarked. The text here adopted is GIESELER'S, which is taken from the Leipzic edition of 1808, with the correction merely of typographical errors. Giesceler considers that this edition is the work of a monk from the abbey of Huysberg (suppressed 1804), being a copy of the original. The original, he attributes to NICOLAS VON ZITZWITZ, Abbot of Huysberg, about 1690.

Vaticinium b. fratris Hermanni,

Monachi quondam Lehninensis, Ordinis Cisterciensis, qui circa annum 1300 floruit, et in Monasterio Lehninensi vixit. Ex libro mspto, ex quo constat, hoc vaticinium jam ante annos 400 consignatum esse.

Nunc tibi cum cura, Lehnin, cano fata futura,
Quæ mihi monstravit Dominus, qui cuncta creavit.
Nam licet insigni, sicut sol, splendeas igni,
Et vitam totam nunc degas summe devotam,
Abundentque rite tranquillæ commoda vitæ;
Tempus erit tandem, quo te non cernis eandem,
Imo vix ullam, sed [1], si bene dixero, nullam.
Quæ te fundavit gens [2] hæc te semper amavit;
Hac pereunte peris, nec mater amabilis eris.
Et nunc absque mora propinquat flebilis hora,
Qua stirps Ottonis, nostræ decus [3] regionis,
Magno ruit fato, nullo superstite nato,
Tuncque cades primum sed nondum venis ad imum.

[1] sed a. l. aut. [2] gens a. l. stirps. [3] 11. decus a. l. terris.

Interea diris angetur Marchia miris.[1]
Nam domus Ottonum fiet spelunca leonum,
Ac erit exclusus vero de sanguine fusus,
Quando peregrini veniunt ad tecta Chorini.
Cerbereos fastus mox tollit Cæsaris astus,
Sed parum tuto gaudebit Marchia scuto.

Regalis Leo rursum tendit[2] ad altera cursum,
Nec dominos veros hæc terra videbit et heros.
Omnia turbabunt rectores, damnaque dabunt.
Nobilitas dives vexabit undique cives,
Raptabit Clerum nullo discrimine rerum,
Et facient isti quod factum tempore Christi:
Corpora multorum vendentur contra decorum.

Ne penitus desit, tibi qui, mea Marchia, præsit,
Ex humili surgis, binis nunc inclyta burgis,
Accendisque facem jactando nomine pacem,
Dumque lupos necas, ovibus præcordia secas.
Dico tibi verum, tua stirps longæva dierum
Imperiis parvis patriis dominabitur arvis,
Donec prostrati fuerint, qui sunt honorati
Urbes vastabant, dominos regnare vetabant.

Succedens patri tollit privilegia fratri:
Non faciet bustum, non justum credere justum.
Defesso variis bellis sortisque procellis

Mox frater fortis succedit tempore mortis,
Fortis ille quidem, sed vir vanissimus idem.
Scandere[3] vult montem, nequeat cum scandere pontem
En acuet enses, miseri o Lehninenses!
Quid curet fratres, qui vult exscindere patres!

Alter ab hoc Martem scit ludificare per artem,
Auspicium natis hic præbet felicitatis,
Quod dum servatur, ingens fortuna paratur.

[1] 14. miris a. l. minis, curis.

[2] 20. tendit a. l. tendet. altera a. l. æthera. The private life of Sigismund was such that æthera can hardly be the true reading, at least if æthera is to mean Heaven.

[3] 40. This line in some versions runs Dum cogitat montem vix potest scandere pontem. The reading in the text comes from the Kindlinger MS. now in the State Archives at Berlin. There is also a variation between montem, pontem and montes, pontes. The reading Dum cogitat, &c., is probably a correction, to avoid the clumsiness of the double scandere.

Hujus erunt nati conformi sorte beati.
Inferet at tristem patriæ tunc fœmina pestem,
Fœmina serpentis tabe[1] contacta recentis.
Hoc ad undenum durabit stemma venenum.

Et nunc is prodit, qui te, Lehnin, nimis odit,
Dividit ut culter, atheus, scortator, adulter.
Ecclesiam vastat, bona religiosa subhastat.
Ite, meus populus, protector est tibi nullus,
Hora donec veniet, nova qua restitutio fiet.

Filius amentis probat instituta parentis,
Insipiens totus, tamen audit vulgo devotus;
Nec sat severus, hinc dicitur optimus herus.
Huic datur ex genere quinos[2] qualis ipse videre.
Anno funesto loco vitam linquit honesto.

Postulat hinc turbæ præponi natus in urbe.
Spe ceteri subolem, fovet hic formidine prolem,
Quod timet obscurum, certo tamen ecce futurum.

Forma rerum nova mox fit patiente Jehova.
Mille scatet nævis, cujus duratio brevis,
Multa per edictum, sed turbans plura per ictum.
Quæ tamen in pejus mutantur jussibus ejus,
In melius fato converti posse putato.

Post patrem natus est Princeps Marchionatus.
Ingenio nullos non[3] vivere sinit inultos
Dum nimium credit, miserum pecus lupus edit,
Et sequitur servus Domini mox fata protervus.

Tunc venient, quibus a burgis nomina tribus,
Et crescit latus magno sub Principe status,
Securitas gentis[4] et fortitudo regentis.
Sed nil juvabit, prudentia quando cubabit.

Qui successor erit, patris haud vestigia terit.
Orate, fratres, lacrymis non parcite, matres!
Fallit in hoc nomen, læti regiminis omen.
Nil superest boni, veteres migrate coloni!
Et jacet extinctus foris quassatus et intus.

[1] 48. tabe a. l. labe.

[2] 58. quinos a. l. quinque.

[3] 69. This line is sometimes given, Ingenio multos non vivere, &c., sometimes, Ingenio multos qui vivere, &c. Neither of which makes good sense.

[4] 74. Et a. l. est.

Mox juvenis fremit, dum magna puerpera gemit.
Sed quis turbatum poterit refingere statum?
Vexillum tanget, sed fata crudelia planget,
Flantibus hinc[1] austris vitam vult credere claustris.

Qui sequitur, pravos imitatur pessimus avos,
Non robur menti, non adsunt numina genti.
Cujus opem petit, contrarius hic sibi stetit.
Et perit in undis, qui miscet summa profundis.

Natus florebit, quod non sperasset, habebit,
Sed populus tristis flebit temporibus istis.
Nam sortis miræ videntur fata venire,
Et Princeps nescit, quod nova potentia crescit.

Tandem sceptra gerit, qui stemmatis ultimus erit.
Israel nefandum scelus audet[2] morte piandum,
Et pastor gregem recipit, Germania Regem.
Marchia, cunctorum penitus oblita malorum,
Ipsa suos audet fovere, nec advena gaudet,
Priscaque Lehnini surgent[3] et tecta Chorini,
Et veteri more Clerus splendescit honore,[4]
Nec lupus nobili plus insidiatur ovili.

Explanation of the Prophecy

Lehnin is two German miles from Brandenburg and three from Potsdam. The rich Cistercian monastery was founded by Otto I., son of Albrecht der Bär, about 1180. At its dissolution it possessed two small towns and sixty-four villages. It was the parent monastery of Chorin, Himmelspforte,

[1] 84. hinc a. l. hic, his, sic.

[2] 94. audet a. l. audit.

[3] 98. surgent a. l. surgunt.

[4] The Leipsic edition of 1807 makes this verse contain a date, which some have supposed to be intended by the author of the prophecy as the date of its completion. By printing the verse thus—

et VeterI More CLerVs spLenDesCIt honore

we get—V+I+M+C+L+V+L+D+C+I=5+1+1000+100+50+5+50+500+100+1=1812.

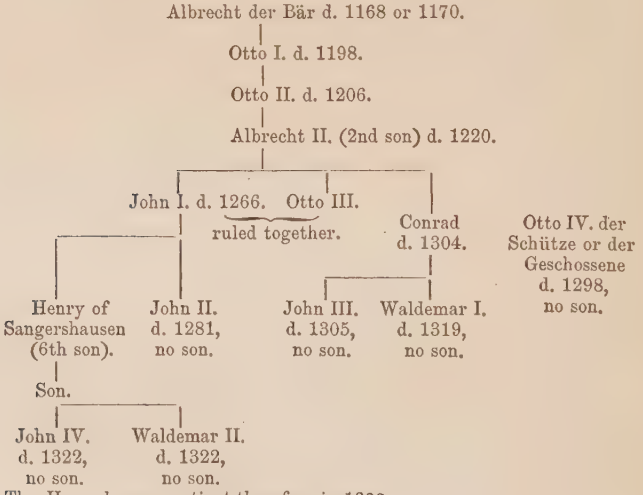
But this piece of ingenuity does not seem to be older than the Leipsic edition.

and Neuzelle ; and appears to have been the usual burial-place of the Electors.

The first thirteen lines refer to the "Ascanische Periode," as it is called. The "Ascanische Haus"[1] seems to derive its name from the castle Ascanienburg near Aschersleben. It became extinct after having held the Mark Brandenburg for about 170 years. Albrecht der Bär was made first Elector by Barbarossa in the Reichstag at Merseburg, 1152.

The next six lines (14 to 20) refer to the "Baierische Periode," when the Mark passes to the Bavarian House, the arms of which were a golden lion on a black field, to which reference is perhaps made in v. 15, as well as to the House of Luxemburg, the arms of which were a blue lion on a gold field. Unless the 'spelunca leonum' refers to the

[1] The following are the leading members of the House :—


Albrecht der Bär d. 1168 or 1170.
Otto I. d. 1198.
Otto II. d. 1206.
Albrecht II. (2nd son) d. 1220.
John I. d. 1266.
Otto III.
ruled together.
Conrad d. 1304.
Otto IV. der Schütze or der Geschossene d. 1298, no son.
Henry of Sangershausen (6th son).
John II. d. 1281, no son.
John III. d. 1305, no son.
Waldemar I. d. 1319, no son.
Son.
John IV. d. 1322, no son.
Waldemar II. d. 1322, no son.

The House became extinct therefore in 1322.

detestation in which these Princes were held, like the 'Cerbereos fastus' below. These were times of trouble and bloodshed, the small potentates round the Mark all pressing into it (v. 14). The agnates of the extinct "Ascanische Haus" would have claimed the Mark, but the Emperor Louis[1] the Bavarian maintained, that, male issue having failed, the Mark fell to him as a fief, which he granted to his son to the exclusion of the agnates (v. 16). During these dangerous times many fugitive clergy took refuge in the monasteries of Lehnin, &c. (v. 17). A pretended Waldemar claimed to be the son of Conrad, who had died 1319, and with the help of the Emperor Charles IV. won the Mark for awhile. He is said to have been in reality Jacob Rehbock, a miller of Sandersleben; his likeness to the deceased Elector and the hatred felt against the Bavarian rulers greatly helped his cause. But Charles IV. having obtained an agreement, that, if Louis and Otto died childless, the Mark should come to the House of Luxemburg, threw over the pretender, who died 1356. Otto tried to secure the succession for his nephew Frederick, but Charles IV. compelled him to sell

1 Emperor Louis the Bavarian.

Louis the elder receives Brandenburg as a fief from his father 1322, and again 1324; resigned the Mark to Louis the Roman about 1349.	Louis the Roman, born in Rome 1323; d. 1365, no sons.	Stephanus Fibulatus. Frederick.	Otto = daughter of Charles IV. d. 1376.

the Mark to Wenzeslaus, son of Charles, for 200,000 florins (v. 18). But the Mark by no means enjoys security or prosperity (v. 19).

The next seven lines (20 to 27) refer to the rule of the House of Luxemburg, which was mainly carried on by deputies, the Princes being for the most part non-resident. Wenzeslaus' misgovernment ended in his giving up the Mark to his brother Sigismund, who in 1382 married Maria, daughter of Lewis, King of Hungary and Poland. Lewis died the same year without male issue, and Sigismund soon had enough to do to protect Hungary against Charles of Anjou and the Turks. In 1387 he became Emperor; and now the Lion of Hungary had other things to do than attend to the Mark (v. 20), and it rarely even saw him (v. 21). In 1388 he mortgaged it to Jodocus of Moravia, who sold offices and towns wholesale (v. 22). In 1411 he died without sons, and the Mark reverted to Sigismund. He did not revert to it, but put in Frederick of Nuremberg as administrator. During most of this period the Mark had been the prey of robber chieftains, John and Dietrich Quizow, Puttlitz, Bredow, Rochow, &c.

In these first three periods we have mere generalities about the rulers of Brandenburg. The author now goes more into detail and devotes a line or two to each Prince of the House of Hohenzollern; with v. 27 we commence their history.

Frederick of Nuremberg (v. 27 to 35) was a

good ruler. Sigismund, having no sons, made over the Mark to him for 400,000 gold florins, and Frederick was solemnly invested at Constance, where he was attending the Council, 1415. Thus the Burggraf of Nuremberg became Markgraf of Brandenburg (v. 27, 28). But his place was no sinecure: his name might mean peace—*Fried*rich (jactando nomine pacem), but with such people as the brothers Quizow to manage not much peace was to be enjoyed. In 1414 he had stormed three robbers' nests and captured John von Quizow. Later on he hunted out Dietrich and other robber chiefs. He had wars with many of his neighbours, especially the Hussites, wars which, though in the main successful, cost much blood and treasure (v. 30). His family[1] held the Mark longer than any other (v. 31); but owing to the power of the nobles and the privileges of the towns, the authority of the Markgraf was much limited (v. 32), until the turbulent nobles were subdued, and the Hussites conquered at Tangermünd (v. 33, 34). He died in 1440.

Frederick II. (v. 35 to 38), though only second son, succeeded his father, the elder son John being a man of quiet, studious habits, as it would seem, who at his father's request, consented to be disinherited (v. 35), an arrangement which the pro-

[1] Frederick I. of Nuremberg d. 1440.

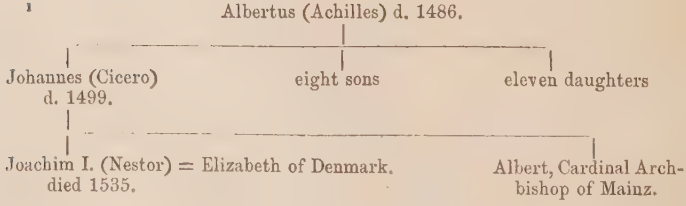
John (Alchymista) d. 1464, no son. | Frederick II. d. 1471. = Hedwig, daughter of Vladislaus of Poland. John d. before his father. | Albertus (Achilles).

phet condemns (v. 36)—a death-bed request cannot make what is not right right. Frederick II., "with the iron teeth," had tedious wars with Saxony, Poland, Bohemia, and Pomerania. On one occasion the food was shot out of his hand, as he was raising it to his mouth. Chronic nervousness was the result, and the following year, 1470, he ceded the government to his brother Albertus (v. 37, 38). He died in 1471.

Albertus (v. 38 to 43) was the wonder of the age for prowess and strength; hence his sobriquet of Achilles: but at the same time he was very vain (v. 39). He was excommunicated by the Pope, and is said to have thought of crossing the Alps in arms, to take Rome. There is a story that the monks of Lehnin took away a bridge before his eyes, to prevent the excommunicate Elector from entering the monastery. A broken bridge stops a leader, who thought of crossing the Alps (v. 40)! He had feuds with the Prince-bishops of Würzburg and Bamberg. If he would attack such dignitaries, what could the monks of Lehnin expect from him (v. 41, 42)?

Johannes[1] Cicero (v. 43 to 46) was left to

[1]



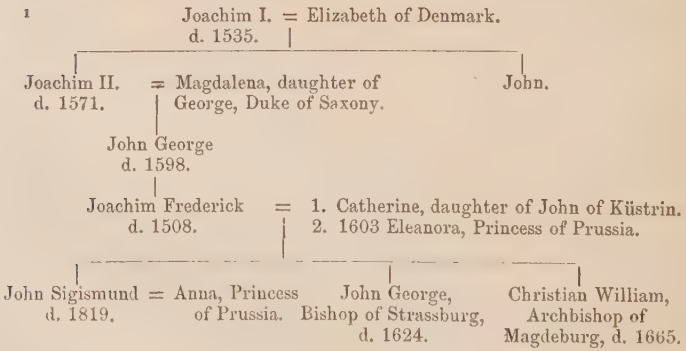
govern the Mark when only sixteen, during the frequent absence of his father. When he came of age, 1476, his father gave up the government to him entirely. He was peacefully inclined, and in 1474 won great fame by concluding peace between Casimir, King of Poland, his son Vladislaus, King of Bohemia, and Matthias, King of Hungary. The father and son readily agreed to peace. Matthias was not so ready. In a four hours' speech, the youthful peace-maker persuaded him (v. 43), and hence the name of Cicero. His eloquence was none the less forcible, in that he had 6000 men at his back as a last argument. He was economical as well as peaceful in his government, and largely increased his domain (v. 44, 45).

Both his sons became Electors, Joachim of Brandenburg, Albert of Mainz (v. 46). Why Joachim I. was called Nestor, is not clear. He was a scholar and a linguist; and in the movement of the Reformation was more strongly opposed to Luther than his brother, the Archbishop of Mainz. But his wife Elizabeth, daughter of John I. of Denmark, followed Luther (47, 48), and in 1528 had to fly from her angry husband in consequence. On his death-bed he made both his sons swear to remain true to Catholicism: both, however, became Protestants. Joachim died in 1535. It is important to remark, with a view to testing the truth of the prophecy, that according

to v. 49, eleven Protestant rulers of Brandenburg are to follow Joachim. Then the House is to return to Catholicism.

I. The next five lines (50 to 55) refer to Joachim II.[1] In 1539 he openly embraced Protestantism, and in 1542 he commenced to protestantise the monastery of Lehnin. Luther's Catechism and Melancthon's *Loci Communes* were introduced, and most of the monks were removed to Frankfort to learn Protestant doctrine (v. 50 to 54). Joachim's concubine was Anna von Sydon, and he is said to have kept a harem (v. 51).

II. John George (v. 55 to 60) was a still more zealous Protestant than his father (v. 55). He was a Lutheran and persecuted the crypto-Calvinists, the more moderate followers of Melancthon. Yet he sent help to Calvinists abroad, such as the Elector Gebhard and Henry of Navarre. In the latter case, the helping force was defeated and driven back by the Duke of Guise. He saw two of his predecessors, his grandfather and



father, Joachim I. and II., and three of his successors, his son, grandson, and great-grandson, Joachim Frederick, John Sigismund, and George William (v. 58). He died in 1598, a year in which fever and quinsy were fatally prevalent (v. 59).

III. Joachim Frederick (v. 60 to 63) though a sickly child lived to be over sixty. He was very anxious that his son, John Sigismund, should remain Lutheran, and the prophecy represents him as fearing his son's apostasy. In 1613, John Sigismund *did* turn Calvinist, in order (it is said) to gain the help of the Dutch in claiming the heritage of Cleves (v. 61, 62), just as Joachim II. is said to have turned Lutheran, in order to seize the rich abbeys, &c., in his domain. Others interpret these two lines of the division of Cleves, which Joachim Frederick wished to keep undivided in the family.

IV. John Sigismund (v. 63 to 68) becoming Calvinist is the 'nova forma rerum.' Among his many faults (v. 64) are mentioned drinking, and a temper so violent as to affect his health. The 'duratio brevis' of his reign was ten years. His change of religion caused the greatest commotion among the Lutherans, which his edict of 1614, exhorting both Lutherans and Calvinists to mutual toleration, did not allay. It ended in a riot, in which lives were lost and the houses of Calvinists stormed. The famous box on the ear which John

Sigismund gave to the Count Palatine Wolfgang William in Wesel had before this caused much bloodshed (v. 65). The prophecy seems to hint that the increased hatred of the Lutherans against the Calvinists may lead to the former becoming better disposed towards the Church (v. 66, 67). It is worth noting that John Sigismund's wife and his father's second wife were sisters, Anna and Eleanora, Princesses of Prussia.

V. The rule of George William[1] (v. 68 to 72) falls in the time of the Thirty Years' War, in which Brandenburg suffered greatly, in spite of George William's attempts to stand well with both parties. He deceived both, and was deceived by both, while his people's lands were constantly ravaged (v. 70). He made an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus in 1631, surrendering the fortress of Spandau. He died Nov. 20th, 1640, and his Minister, Adam, Count of Schwarzenberg, died a few weeks after him (v. 71).

VI. Frederick William, the great Elector and founder of the State of Prussia (v. 72 to 76), far surpassed his predecessors in the art of government. By the Peace of Westphalia, 1648, he

[1]
John Sigismund d. 1619. = Anna, Princess of Prussia.
George William d. 1640. = Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick IV. Elector of the Palatinate.
Frederick William d. 1688.
Frederick III. (I. as king) d. 1713.

gained the reversion of Magdeburg, which fell to him in 1680 after the death of Augustus of Saxony. Thus he was the first who included three Burgs in his title (v. 72),—Brandenburg, Nuremberg, and Magdeburg. He reformed finances, promoted commerce and agriculture, welcomed French refugees to strengthen native manufactures, &c. The devastation of the Thirty Years' War was soon changed into great prosperity (v. 73, 74).

VII. The reign of the Elector Frederick III. (v. 76 to 81), afterwards King Frederick I., marks the turning point in the prophecy, *i.e.* it is here that it changes from one-sided history to an attempt to predict the future.

Frederick[1] took a decided part in the war against France, and moreover helped the Emperor against the Turks. In a year he almost doubled his army. The great Elector left 24,000 men; Frederick raised it to 40,000. This involved con-

[1] Frederick I. d. 1713. = Sophia Charlotte of Hanover, sister of George I.
Frederick William I. d. 1740. = Sophia Dorothea of Hanover, daughter of George I.
Frederick II. d. 1786. = Elisabeth Christine, Princess of Brunswick-Bevern.
Augustus William d. 1758.
Frederick William II. d. 1797.
Frederick William III. d. 1840.
Louis d. 1796.
Frederick William IV. d. 1861.

scriptions and increased taxation. The monasteries suffered no less than the people. The Brethren had to lament the burdens imposed on the convents, as mothers had to lament the conscription of their sons (v. 77). The peace-promising name of Friedrich is again a mockery (v. 78, cf. 29). In the former reign Protestants had migrated into Brandenburg after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685. Frederick invited many more, who were quartered on the lands of dispossessed inhabitants, especially of the monasteries (v. 79).

With v. 80 we begin the attempted prediction, which will be seen to be a hopeless failure. Neither the general result prophesied, viz. the return of Brandenburg to Catholicism, and consequent downfall of the Protestant Hohenzollerns, nor the particulars foretold of the individual rulers have been fulfilled; some of the attempts to make the latter fit known facts are simply laughable.

To begin with, the miserable end predicted of Frederick III. (v. 80), whom the author evidently abhors, never came to pass. On the other hand his promotion to the dignity of King, which a true prophet would surely have known and disclosed, is not mentioned.

VIII. (v. 81 to 85.) Frederick III. being in weak health, the pseudo-prophet conjectures that his heir will succeed young, and in the vehemence of youth will put down all opposition with a high

hand; meanwhile the Church—magna puerpera—sighs and groans (v. 81). But violence is of no avail, except to produce civil war (v. 82, 83). Austria—flantibus his austris[1]—uses its influence on the Catholic side, new monasteries are built, and, the Catholics being the most faithful subjects, the baffled persecutor has to rely upon them for support (v. 84). Perhaps the prophet was hardly rash enough to mean that Frederick III.'s successor would end his days in a monastery. In any case, the prediction is singularly unlike the reign of Frederick William I.

IX. (v. 85 to 89.) The next ruler is supposed to follow the evil example of his ancestors in keeping up the differences created by them. He applies to Lutheran Princes for help, but they turn against the Calvinist (v. 87). He turns everything upside down, and himself perishes in the confusion (v. 88). A strange picture this of the successes and victories—astounding all Europe—of Frederick II.!

X. (v. 89 to 93.) The confusion of the last reign was such that the next heir is surprised at being able to succeed to the government at all (v. 89). (N.B. There is not a hint through all this that the rulers are now kings.) The people already Catholic at heart, content themselves with weeping, but do not rebel (v. 90): they see that their deliverance is approaching as the power of the Church

[1] Austria being south of Brandenburg; besides which there is no doubt a play upon the words.

increases (v. 91); but their ruler sees this not (v. 92). This then is a description of the reign of Frederick William II.!

XI. (v. 93 to the end.) We have reached the eleventh and last spreader of the poison of heresy (cf. v. 49). The Jews, not the faithful Catholics, bring about the final catastrophe. The Jews had been driven out of Brandenburg by John George, in 1571, on account of the pretended high treason of the Jew Lippold, and they were not readmitted until the reign of the great Elector, in 1671. Hence in the author's time they were a new and unwelcome sight in Brandenburg, and he uses them as a convenient deus ex machinâ to bring about the necessary catastrophe, for which he does not wish to make the Catholics responsible (v. 94). Protestants will return to the Church, and Germany will receive a King (v. 95). Brandenburg will flourish again—a Mark still, not a Kingdom,—and the foreign refugees, so hateful to the prophet, will no longer enjoy the land (v. 96, 97); the monasteries of Lehnin and Chorin will be rebuilt, and they will all live happily ever afterwards (v. 98 to 100). Such is this prophet's idea of the reign of Frederick William III.!

Some of those who defend the prophecy as genuine, arrange the last few divisions differently so as to make not Frederick William III. but his successor the undenum stemma.[1] In any case the

[1] This became necessary when facts proved that Frederick William III. was *not* the last of his House. It was accomplished in one of two ways;

prophecy has not been fulfilled: but by this arrangement mox juvenis fremit, dum magna puerpera genuit, &c., is made to refer to Frederick II.,[1] and a great hit is thus claimed for the prophet. In March, 1744, Maria Theresa was expecting her confinement and also news of the result of the Prussian attack. Her first son Joseph was born just about the time of the battle of Mollwitz. But if the magna puerpera is to be taken literally at all it must refer to a Brandenburg Princess; the prophecy is not concerned with Austria.

Briefly to sum up the case against this fictitious prediction:—

(1) The verses are not those of a monk of the thirteenth century, e.g. the name Jehovah (v. 63) would be unknown to him. It does not occur in the Vulgate, and a monk of that time would know no other version.

either the text of v. 73 was changed from 'magno sub Principe' into 'sub utroque Principe,' so that v. 72 to 75 referred to both the great Elector and his successor, as in the Leipsic edition of 1807; or v. 75 was separated from the preceding three and assigned singly to Frederick III., as in the Frankfurt und Leipzig edition of 1808. Of course it is difficult to make twelve names fit with 'ad undenum stemma,' but this has been comfortably interpreted to mean the poison of Protestantism will last *at least* until the eleventh generation. Bouverot follows the plan of the edition of 1807, Von Schütz that of the edition of 1808. Boost has a slightly different arrangement; he complains of Wilken for making 72 to 75 refer to Frederick William the Great alone, which of course makes the rest of the prophecy out of joint, whereas only 72 and 73 refer to the great Elector, 74 and 75 to Frederick III.

[1] It has already been noticed that Frederick II. as Crown Prince considered his father as the 'juvenis' and himself as destined, if he lived, to be the 'pessimus' who was to succeed, according to the prophecy, which of course he laughed to scorn.

(2) The first 79 lines agree well with history, though they give a far from impartial view. The substance of them appears to have been taken from *Annales Marchiæ Brandenburgicæ* of A. Angelus, Frankfort on the Oder, 1598, fol., and from the *Brandenburgische Cederhain* of J. W. Reutsch, Baireuth, 1682, 8vo. The remaining 21 lines do not agree with history at all.

(3) The change of the Mark into a Kingdom is not foretold.

(4) Though the acquisition of Magdeburg is alluded to (v. 72), no notice is taken of the further addition of Neufchatel and Mecklenburg.

(5) No mention is made of the greatness of Frederick II., nor of his augmentation of Prussia; nor yet

(6) of the time when the Hohenzollerns will have seven Burgs in their title. Cf. the King's title in the *Gesetzsammlung* for 1817, p. 18.

(7) Neither Frederick William III. nor his successor has been the last of the House.

(8) Neither the world nor Germany has become Catholic.

It will be instructive to give one or two of the desperate attempts to make the last 21 verses agree with facts.

v. 84. Flantibus his austris—the blowing of the south wind is the offers of marriage from Naples and Parma to the daughter of Maria Theresa, and from Parma and Spain to her sons. Or, as Bou-

verot prefers, Flantibus austris means 'declining in health' (he cites Hor. Od. II. xiv.), and claustris refers to Frederick II. at Sans-Souci.

v. 88. Et perit in undis refers to Frederick William II. dying of dropsy, the waves being the water from his own body! Besides the absurdity, dropsy is the hereditary disease of the family. Frederick William I. and Frederick II. both died of it. Others, less daring, make in undis refer to the chateau near Berlin, Pfaueninsel, which had much water about it, where the king died. Bouverot says he died in a bath.

v. 94. The scelus nefandum is supposed to refer to the death of Prince Frederick Louis at the hands of his brother the Crown Prince, afterwards Frederick William III. The latter had abused his younger brother for being polite to Madame Lichtenau, their father's mistress. But this involves reading 'audit' for 'audet.' In the prophecy the Jews do not hear of the monstrous wickedness, which is pointless, but commit it. Bouverot remains true to 'audet,' and explains that in February, 1840, some Jews at Damascus were accused of murdering a Catholic Priest and his servant, and of using their blood "pour la confection de leurs pains azymes." "La figure dont s'est servi le frère Hermann en s'exprimant dans 94 comme si la nation tout entière eût été coupable de l'assassinat en question, constitue en rhétorique l'emploi du tout pour une partie du tout"!

It has been remarked already that the literature on the subject of this pseudo-prophecy is considerable. The forgery itself harmonized so well with the hopes of zealous Catholics and the angry feelings of Prussia's enemies, that we need not wonder at its being so widely accepted. It may be worth while to enumerate a few of the works written in defence of its authenticity.

Hermann v. Lehnin, der durch die alte und neueste Geschichte bewährt gefundene Prophet des Haus Brandenburgs. Frankfurt u. Leipzig, 1808.

This is probably a rare book.[1] It was the first on the subject of the prophecy that the present writer saw, an advantage for which he is indebted to the kindness of Dr. Döllinger. It was preceded by

Frater Hermann von den Schicksalen der Mark Brandenburg und ihrer Regenten. Leipzig, 1807.[2]

And followed by

Frater Hermann, Cisterzienser Ordens Profess, von den Schicksalen des Klosters Lehnin und des Hauses Brandenburg. Düsseldorf, 1808.

[1] It is the one from which Gieseler took his text, and which he considers to have been the work of a Benedictine, the last librarian of the Abbey of Huysburg.

[2] It bears the motto, "Prophetias nolite spernere; omnia autem probate, quod bonum est tenete."—Thess. I. v. 20. Giesebrecht supposes Kindlinger to be the writer, on account of the similarity between this and the Kindlinger MS. in the Royal Archives at Berlin. With the date 1812 (v. 99), although the author doubts whether it was intended by the prophet, he says the 44th Hamburger Zeitung agrees, which gives an extract from the Journal de Paris, Mars 10, 1807, to this effect. In Versailles an old book has again been brought to light, with the title,

Twenty years later there appeared in France

Prophétie du frère Hermann, Religieux profès de l'ordre de Citeaux, dans le XIII^e^ siècle, annonçant pour une époque peu éloignée du temps actuel l'abolition du Protestantisme dans la Monarchie Prussienne, et la rentrée de ses sectateurs dans le sein de l'église catholique. Paris, 1827.

The course of events induced the author of the last to write again and at much greater length on the same subject.

Extrait d'un manuscrit relatif à la Prophétie du frère Hermann de Lehnin. Titre de ce Manuscrit: Merveilleuse Prophétie du frère Hermann de Lehnin, avec des notes explicatives par Louis de Bouverot. Bruxelles, 1846.

This is one of the most remarkable productions. In it Bouverot almost assumes the tone of a prophet himself. Persuaded that the 'merveilleuse Prophétie' is a divine revelation, and that the then reigning King of Prussia, Frederick William IV., is to be the last of his House, who will become

Prophecies for all time, from the year 1521 to the end of the world. Author, Joseph Justo, of Naples. The Paris Academy has handed over this work of twenty-four pages to the Minister Louvois. For 140 years it has proved true. On 1806 it says, "Lay in store of oats and provisions, for at the end of August will come a great war and spread to many lands; the people will suffer death and many defeats. In 1807 much snow will fall early in February, and hence great floods." Most important, however, of 1811; "It will be hard to support the oxen in the severe winter. From this year begins a hundred years' peace in Christendom. Bread, wine, and clothing in abundance." Thus in 1812 will come the peace and prosperity promised in the concluding lines of the Lehnin Prophecy.

King of united Germany if he turns Catholic, Bouverot considers it his duty to convince the world of this. Together with his explanation of the prophecy he publishes his letters to the King (then Crown Prince) and to the Minister of Religion in May, 1839, and another letter to the Bishops of France and Belgium in 1841. In his letter to the Crown Prince he says that other commentators "ont, par leurs explications, plus ou moins intéressé la curiosité, mais aucun d'eux n'a fourni les véritables renseignements, dont la lecture pouvait seule être pour les princes de votre auguste famille d'une utilité réelle, solide et essentielle. C'était à moi, suivant les adorables décrets de la providence divine, qu'étaient réservés le genre et le degré de pénétration d'esprit, qu'il fallait pour démêler les sens de divers passages de la prophétie, que personne précédemment n'avait été en état d'expliquer. Cette disposition dans le cours des choses m'a paru être un indice auquel je devais reconnaître que c'était à moi qu'était assignée d'en haut la mission de faire parvenir sous les yeux de Votre Altesse Royale des écrits de l'espèce de ceux ci-joints."

Bouverot sometimes quotes without acknowledgment[1] the Paris edition of 1830, the title of which runs thus:—

Prophétie du Frère Hermann de Lehnin, annonçant

[1] Was this also written by Bouverot? It is not mentioned at all by Gieseler, to whom I am indebted for the titles of one or two of the works quoted, which I have not seen.

de deux choses l'une : ou que les princes de la famille royale de Prusse se réuniront à l'Église catholique, ou qu'ils périront tous du vivant de S. M. le roi de Prusse actuel. A la Libraire de Hivert, 1830.

The treatise concludes with these words :—"S'il arrive un jour que la prophétie du Frère Hermann soit accomplie dans toute son intégrité, elle prendra alors sa place parmi les merveilles les plus étonnantes de la puissance de Dieu, parmi les bienfaits les plus touchants de sa bonté, parmi les plus précieuses instructions qui aient été données aux hommes."

Bouverot soon found an echo in Germany.

Weissagung des Bruder Hermann von Lehnin nach der belgischen Ansicht, von W. v. Schütz. Würzburg, 1847.

Herr v. Schütz gives up the absurd interpretations of Et perit in undis (v. 88)—möchte ich zu sehr blos zufällig finden; they have no connection with miscet summa profundis. Rather, Frederick William II. mixed up religion and revolution, and raised a storm in the midst of which he died. He is also dissatisfied with some of Bouverot's interpretations—e. g. Israel's scelus nefandum (v. 94) is the marriage of Christian women with Jews. The law regards these unions as marriage, but such women are only Jews' concubines or worse. O diese armen Geschöpfe (Bordeldirne) stehen noch viel reiner da, als alle jene Christenmädchen, die sich von Juden zu ihren H... erkaufen lassen. This is a scelus *morte* piandum. Herr v. Schütz is not

bloodthirsty, far from it; — nichts weniger wie blutdürstig gesinnt; — still the old decree of *mors civilis* against the Jews is worth considering again, and perhaps reviving.

But the most curious work of all on this subject is probably

Die Weissagungen des Mönchs Hermann zu Lehnin über Preussen, und jene des Benedictiners David Speer zu Benedict-Beuern über Bayern, von John Ad. Boost. Augsburg, 1848.

This strange production contains material which will serve to illustrate the general subject of Dr. Döllinger's Essay; it will therefore be worth while to give a somewhat longer notice of it than of its predecessors.

The author takes as his motto "Nihil est in historia pura et illustri brevitate dulcius," and, by way of acting up to it, he commences with Adam and works through Jewish and Christian history, as a means of throwing light on a supposed prediction of the thirteenth century!

He notices three kinds of prophecies:—

(1) Those which foretell single definite events, without fixing the time of their occurrence.

(2) Those which also fix the time.

(3) Those which foretell a series of coming events, the verification of which must be left to history.

Examples.

(1) The charter of the Klaren-Nonnen Convent, at Mayence, in which the foundress in the eighth century (!) declares that the Prince, who should secularize the convent, should be smitten with leprosy and die an outcast from the land and people. The Elector Emmerich Joseph von Breitenbach in the eighteenth century, refused to touch it when urged to do so by the Illuminati. His successor, Charles Joseph von Erthal, fulfilled the prophecy. He died leprous and in exile, last Archbishop and Elector of Mayence.

The prophecy of the nun, Elizabeth Barton, the holy maid of Kent, on the reign and life of Henry VIII.

The prophecy on the Jesuits. One of their first founders said, three hundred years ago, "times will come, in which the Jesuits will be driven out like dogs; and again other times will come, in which they will return like nobles." And what is needed, asks Herr Boost, to bring this prophecy to accomplishment? Must not the irreligion, dissoluteness, and cupidity of Princes, and the blindness of a Pope, have reached the highest pitch, to hunt out in the most shameful way 22,000 of the most active (sic) children of the Church? Must not streams of blood flow, whole kingdoms be overthrown, whole dynasties be driven

out, in order that those, who were driven out like dogs, return like nobles?

(2) The prophecy of Cardinal d'Ally, theologian and astronomer, in 1414, respecting the great conjunction of Saturn in 1789. Works printed in Venice 1492. "Si mundus usque ad illa tempora duraverit, quod solus Deus novit, multæ tunc magnæ et mirabiles alterationes mundi et mutationes futuræ sunt et maxime circa leges." Humboldt wonders that this prediction has attracted so little attention. *La fins des temps*, par Eugène Bareste. Paris, 1840, p. 28.

The prophecy of John Müller, Bishop of Ratisbon, d. 1476.

> "Post mille expletos a partu virginis annos
> Et septingentos rursus abire datos,
> Octuagesimus octavus, mirabilis annus,
> Ingruet secum tristia fata feret.
> Si non hoc anno totus malus occidet orbis,
> Si non in nihilum terra fretumque ruet,
> Cuncta tamen mundi sursum ibunt atque deorsum
> Imperia, et luctus undique grandis erit."

See Feller, *Dict. Hist.*, Tom. VI. p. 253, where it is remarked, that these verses are quoted in Jour. Hist. et Littéraire, October 15, 1787, and with a slight change of wording have been applied to the Huguenots in 1588, and the expulsion of the Stuarts in 1688.

Cardanus, *De varietate rerum*, Lib. II., cap. ii., wrote in the sixteenth century, "Necesse est an. Ch. 1800 magnam mutationem futuram esse in lege Christi. Quoted by Lessing, *Theologischer*

Nachlass, p. 231, and applied to the theological "Aufklärerei," which had begun in his time.[1]

Prophecy of the Frenchman Cazotte.

(3) The language of this third class of prophecies is often obscure, and requires a special gift in order to interpret it.

The prediction of the parish priest Holzhauser in the seventeenth century. "Religio opprimi videtur; sed integrorum regnorum mutatione firmabitur amplius." And again—

> "Sub bello ingenti Germania tota dolebit,
> Gallus omnis erit totius origo mali."

and "Germania misere lacerabitur," and "Omnes depauperabuntur."

To this class belong the prophecies of S. Hildegard, of Hermann of Lehnin, and of the Benedictine Speer. The last-mentioned prophecy was circulated in Bavaria at the time of the dissolution of the monastery of Benedictbeuern in 1803. It professed to be written by a monk of this abbey, one Simon Speer, in 1599, and to have been preserved among the archives of the monastery. The subject-matter of it was Benedictbeuern and the Dukes of

[1] But Herr Boost omits to mention that Lessing quotes it as an instance of a *false* prophet's prediction being fulfilled. Cardanus, says Lessing, was höchstens nur ein sehr gelehrter Charlatan. "*Quod si ita est*, necesse est an. Ch. 1800, &c.," are Cardanus' words. Now the 'quod si ita est' is *not* true; therefore Cardanus' grounds for his prediction are gone—non est ita. He had said—if x, then y; but y has happened without x preceding. Moreover he said that the change might come a little before or a little after 1800.

Bavaria; and with the alteration of a few expressions and the omission of sixty-six lines it is taken word for word from the Lehnin Prophecy. Oddly enough, Herr Boost not only believes in its genuineness, but thinks that it proves the genuineness of the Lehnin Prophecy also![1]

About the same time appeared one or two cheap popular editions of the latter fiction, in pamphlet form, which contributed to give it a much wider circulation, e. g. *Die höchstdenkwürdige Weissagung des hochwürdigsten Pater Abt Hermann v. Lehnin über Preussens ältere und neuere Geschichte von* 1322 *bis* 2000. Bremen, 1848.

Frater Hermann, Weissagungen über die Schicksale des Hauses Brandenburg. Von Dr. Arnold Rennew. Münster.

The forgery has been thoroughly exposed by various writers already mentioned; by Frederick Wilken in a paper *Ueber das s. g. Vaticinium Lehninense* written in 1821, but first published after the author's death in Schmidt's *allgem. Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, VI., Berlin, 1846; by Professor Giesebrecht in a paper contributed to the same volume, *Die Weissagung von Lehnin und Christoph Heinrich Oelven*; and by Dr. J. C. L.

[1] In conclusion he quotes an 'uralte Prophezeiung,' which says

> In vero gaudebis, post tenebras lucem videbis;
> Namque ante ortum duo decimi (seculi) bestia et scortum
> Præcipites ruent in Abyssum, nec inde resurgent,
> Et signum Crucis splendebit in gloria lucis
> Cum fide et lege unus pastor cum uno grege.

Gieseler in a small treatise of which much use has been made in the present Appendix, *Die Lehninische Weissagung gegen das Haus Hohenzollern, als ein Gedicht des Abtes von Huysburg, Nicolaus von Zitzwitz aus dem J.* 1692 *nachgewiesen, erklärt und in Hinsicht auf Veranlassung und Zweck beleuchtet.* Erfurt, 1849.

It remains to say something of the probable author of this celebrated fiction, so far as anything definite can be ascertained.

The prophecy itself tells us something. The author is evidently a zealous Catholic, who regards the Reformation as a plague, who abhors the reformed Creed adopted by John Sigismund even more than Lutheranism, and who hates the House of Hohenzollern. He is probably not a native of Brandenburg; a native would scarcely have given only the black side of the history of his country, omitting all its glories; nor would he easily have separated the hopes of the future from the Hohenzollerns. Still this is mere probability. The attitude assumed by many German Ultramontanes at the present day with regard to the Papacy and its hope, France, as against the German Empire, forbids one to argue with any certainty from patriotic tendencies, when they are brought into collision with religious fanaticism.

Some have supposed Andrew Fromm, Provost of S. Peter's in Berlin, to have been the author. In 1666 he was deprived, and in 1668 became a

Catholic. But there is no evidence whatever in favour of this view. Moreover we have seen that the prophecy was not written before 1690, and Fromm died in 1685.

More persons have been of opinion that Martin Frederick Seidel composed it. WEISE, KUSTER, and WILKEN supported this view. Seidel was a practised writer of Latin verse, and was well read in the history of Brandenburg. Moreover a copy of the prophecy with emendations and corrections was found in his library. But the forger would not have written notes on the prophecy, as Seidel did, thus attracting attention to himself. And Seidel was no Catholic, but a zealous Lutheran, and in character not likely to be guilty of an underhand attack on the ruling House.

A much better case may be made out for the conjecture that Christopher Henry Oelven was the author. Such a production is not unlike this strange man, who chafing against the present revelled in an imaginary past. He too was a writer of Latin verses, especially anagrams, delighted in the marvellous, and believed in the possibility of acquiring the art of prophecy. One of his anagrams is quite in the spirit of the prophecy.

> "Friedericus Ludovicus Princeps Arausoniensis" into
> "Fili, Cæsar eris, Dux purpureusque Sionis
> "Vincendo."

which proved false, however, for the infant died in

May, 1708, being only six months old. Compare also his epigram on the same child.

> "Sit pietas, sit justa Fides, sit *Pacis* in armis
> Cura tibi: hoc nomen vult, *Frederice*, tuum;
> Tum gere bella ferox, sed non nisi ab hoste coactus,
> Sic *Ludovice*, tibi *Vincere Ludus* erit."

The use of the words 'Jehovah' (v. 63) and 'Israel' (v. 94) in the prophecy are like 'Dux Sionis' in the anagram. Twice in the prophecy (v. 29, 78) there is a play on the name *Fried*rich, as in the first two lines of the epigram; and the pun, 'Ludovice'—'Vincere Ludus,' is somewhat like the 'per edictum'—'per ictum' in the prophecy (v. 65).

But this is very far from conclusive; and on the other side it must be remembered that Oelven never betrayed any leanings towards Catholicism, which, with his hasty and impetuous nature, he would almost certainly have done, had he possessed any. Still less had he any ill-will against the House of Hohenzollern. Rather the contrary, as the verses quoted above show. They are quite irreconcileable with the prophecy. Professor Giesebrecht of Munich, formerly of Berlin, is the principal advocate of the theory that Oelven is the criminal.

Dr. Gieseler, however, contends for another author, viz. Nicolas von Zitzwitz, Abbot of Huysburg. Gieseler is surprised that the statement of J. C. Harenberg has not attracted more attention; viz. that the Abbot John Fabricius told him in

Helmstädt in 1726, that Zitzwitz was the author. Harenberg is not altogether a trustworthy person, but there is no reason for doubting the truth of this statement. Zitzwitz and Fabricius were intimately acquainted; both had much at heart the reunion of the Evangelical Church with the Catholic, and this Lutheran Abbot was prepared to make concessions to his Catholic friend, such as no Lutheran theologian had ever made before. It is quite conceivable that Zitzwitz confided to him in the course of frequent deliberations, that he had written the famous Vaticinium himself. Fabricius did not tell Harenberg until twenty-two years after he death of Zitzwitz, and Harenberg did not divulge the secret till long after Fabricius' death.

This statement of Harenberg's is confirmed very remarkably by the author of the Frankfort and Leipsic treatise on the prophecy, 1808. Internal evidence shows that he was a Benedictine, and he states in his preface, that, as librarian of an abbey some thirty years before (about 1777), he had found the MS. of the prophecy written in the hand of a well-known learned Prelate in the time of the great Elector and of King Frederick I. There can be little doubt that the Benedictine writer was the last librarian of the abbey of Huysburg, which was abolished in 1804, and that the well-known learned Prelate is Zitzwitz. From the heading of the MS.—ex libro Mspto, ex quo constat, hoc vaticinium ante annos 400 consignatum

esse—the ex-librarian supposes that Zitzwitz had really copied the prophecy from a codex of the fourteenth century. He has no idea that the supposed copy is the original, with a lying heading, in order to conceal the real author. He prefers this version of the prophecy to all others that he has seen; but in his explanation of the prophecy he does not scruple to adopt other readings, when they suit his interpretation better than the one in his own text.

Nicolas von Zitzwitz was born of Lutheran parents in Pomerania, 1634. Under the influence of George Calixtus he joined the Roman Catholic Church, and in 1656 became a Benedictine. As Prior of Corvey, and afterwards Abbot of Huysburg, he displayed very great powers of organization and management, and also occupied himself much with literary work, especially the archives of Huysburg. But the work which he, perhaps, had most at heart was the reconciliation of the Lutherans with the Catholic Church. This object he shared with Bishop Spinola, and they two entered into relations with two Lutheran theologians, Molanus of Loccum, and Fabricius, Professor of theology at Helmstadt. Some writings of Zitzwitz on the subject are still extant. One cannot, of course, wonder at his believing that the reasons which induced him to become a Catholic would sooner or later induce the bulk of Protestants to do the same. Such ideas were not uncommon

among Catholics at that time. Protestantism was about to become historical. How deeply Zitzwitz cherished this hope is seen from what he said shortly before his death to his Prior. The latter was lamenting that the Abbot could not live longer in order to complete his efforts for reunion. "You too, my dear Prior, will scarcely live to see those days of blessed union. But still we will congratulate ourselves and thank the Lord, that we have seen the tree full of blossom. The fruit also will come, and our posterity will perchance gather it, without having to shake the tree." These words are quite in the spirit of the prophecy. The reconciliation of Protestantism with Catholicism, to which so many look forward, will certainly come to pass, although not so speedily as people think. The toil hitherto expended has not been thrown away; the ripe fruit will one day fall of itself, without special trouble being expended on gathering it.

Nor is this general harmony of tone between the prophecy and the known hopes and longings of Zitzwitz all. Other feelings appear in the prophecy; and it is not difficult to trace the causes of them in the circumstances of the time. Brandenburg was then swarming with thousands of the reformed faith, exiles for the most part from Catholic countries, and the Mark thus became the home of a strong and bitter opposition to the Papacy. In spite of that, the jealousy existing there between the Lutherans and Protestants of

the reformed creed appeared to work in favour of Catholicism. Frederick III., according to the prophet's view, had estranged the hearts of his subjects by welcoming these exiles. Still more had he done so by his oppressive taxes, a burden which pressed heavily on the monasteries. Hence the bitterness of the prophet against the Elector; and he confidently predicts, that the reigning House and the bulk of its subjects will more and more fall into decay, and that this very fact will prepare the way for the ultimate triumph of Catholicism. And Zitzwitz, not being a Brandenburger by birth, had no innate feelings of loyalty to the House of Hohenzollern, such as might have restrained him from making such a prediction.

But after all we have here nothing more than a probable hypothesis. Dr. Gieseler makes out a very good case for, or rather against Zitzwitz, but he can scarcely be said to have proved it.

One other person has been conjectured as the author, the Jesuit Wolf, who, 1685–86, was chaplain of the Austrian Embassy in Berlin.

The precise authorship, however, is a matter of comparatively small moment. The important points to know are the fact of the forgery and the time of its perpetration; and these the prophecy itself tells us. It will perhaps always be famous as a literary curiosity; but one will probably not be wrong in concluding that it can never again be used to serve ecclesiastical or political interests.

Nevertheless in days in which the legend of Pope Silvester in its grossest form is still cited as history,[1] it would be rash to speak positively on this point. Experience seems to show, that the amount of audacity, which some persons can exhibit in reiterating exploded falsehoods, is practically unlimited.

[1] In the 99th number of the Augsburg *Sion* is the following statement respecting Pope Silvester; "At the same time the holy Apostles Peter and Paul appeared to the Emperor Constantine and commanded him to seek baptism at the hands of the Pope, and then establish the Christian religion in the whole Empire. While being baptized he was miraculously cured of his leprosy . . . . . Pope Silvester gave moreover numerous directions in accordance with apostolical traditions, e. g. that the sacred chrism should be consecrated by a Bishop, that the Priest should anoint the head of the baptized with the chrism, that Deacons should wear dalmatic and maniple, that corporals and altar-cloths should be made of linen." (!!) See *Deutscher Merkur* for Jan. 4th, 1873, and for an exposure of the fiction Dr. Döllinger's *Fables respecting the Popes*, p. 89, English Translation.

APPENDIX B

INSTANCES OF PERSONS PROPHETICALLY SUMMONED TO APPEAR BEFORE THE TRIBUNAL OF GOD.

THIS is a species of prophecy, of which one or two famous instances occur in mediæval history, respecting which one much desires more definite and more certain evidence. It is difficult to decide in each instance, whether the prophetic summons, or the death within the stated time, is a fiction or not; or again, supposing that both may be accepted as facts, whether it is a case of mere coincidence, or whether the prophecy itself has contributed to its own fulfilment, either by terrifying the subject of it to death or by inciting others to assassination; or lastly, whether the utterer of the summons, under the influence of intensified feeling, was really able to forecast the future in a way, which to persons in ordinary circumstances seems supernatural. The present generation is

not very ready to accept the last as a probable or even possible alternative. But psychological science has not yet reached the point where a dogmatic judgment on the question can be given with certainty; and probably those who have the best right to be heard on the subject, would be among the most unwilling to decide peremptorily what the human mind can or cannot do under very extraordinary conditions. The phenomena are too rare and too unsatisfactorily recorded to render a conclusive induction possible.

The case of JEROME OF PRAGUE has been noticed already in the text. Besides this there is the still more celebrated instance of FERDINAND IV., King of Castile, "*the Summoned.*" The summoners in this case were two twin brothers, Pedro and Juan, Counts of Carvajal. Don Pedro and the Marquis of Benavides were in love with the same lady, Leonara Mantiquez de Lara, and she favoured Don Pedro. The result was a challenge from the Marquis, which was accepted by the Count. In the duel Pedro was assisted by his brother, the Marquis also by a relation. The two brothers killed their opponents in honourable combat, as the witnesses declared, and under strong provocation. The duel delayed the marriage, and before it could take place another suitor appeared in the person of the Duke of Velasco, favourite of Ferdinand IV. One day, as the King was returning from a banquet, the Duke accused the two brothers

of having assassinated the Marquis at Palencia by night, as he was leaving the palace. The King in a fury ordered the Carvajals to be thrown from the precipitous walls of the castle, without either trial or examination. They protested their innocence in vain, and at last in despair summoned their judge to appear before the tribunal of God within thirty days. Ferdinand went on with his military occupations, and feeling somewhat unwell retired to Jaën. Here he received news of the success of his arms, at which he was greatly elated. After dinner he took a siesta, and from this he never awoke. He was found dead in his bed by his servants on the last of the thirty days from the death of the Carvajals, September, 1312. Hence his name, the *Emplazado* or *Summoned.*

Another scarcely less famous instance is that of JACQUES DU MOLAY, Grand Master of the Templars, burnt at Paris, March 18th, 1313, to the eternal infamy of Clement V. and Philip the Fair. Dean Milman thus continues:—"The wonder and the pity of the times which immediately followed, arrayed Du Molay not only in the robes of the martyr, but gave him the terrible language of a prophet. 'Clement, iniquitous and cruel judge, I summon thee within forty days to meet me before the throne of the Most High.' According to some this fearful sentence included the King, by whom, if uttered, it might have been heard. The earliest allusion to this awful speech does not contain that

striking particularity, which, if part of it, would be fatal to its credibility, the precise date of Clement's death. It was not till the year after that Clement and King Philip passed to their account. The poetic relation of Godfrey of Paris simply states that God would revenge their death on their unrighteous judges. The rapid fate of these two men during the next year might naturally so appal the popular imagination, as to approximate more closely the prophecy and its accomplishment. At all events it betrayed the deep and general feeling of the cruel wrong inflicted on the Order; while the unlamented death of the Pope, the disastrous close of Philip's reign, and the disgraceful crimes which attainted the honour of his family, seemed as declarations of Heaven as to the innocence of their noble victims."[1]

Clement V. died at Roquemaure on the Rhone, April 20th, 1314. His remains were treated with such neglect, that the catafalque caught fire, and his body was half burnt before anyone attended to it.

Philip survived him only a few months. He died at Fontainebleau from the effects of a fall from his horse while hunting, November 29th, 1314. His Minister, Enguerraud de Marigni, was hanged in 1315.

Another example, less well known, is reported

[1] *Latin Christianity*, Book XII., chap. v.

in the annals of the House of Brittany. John VI., Duke of Brittany, had four children, Francis I. (grandfather of Anne, the wife of Charles VIII. and Louis XII., Kings of France), Peter II., Giles, and Isabel. Giles was murdered by his brother Francis, and shortly before he breathed his last he summoned the fratricide to appear before the judgment-seat of God within forty days. Francis is said to have died on the fortieth day. Giles, after having been kept a prisoner for four years, was put to death (by suffocation, according to some) in the castle of la Haudinaiet in 1450. Francis received the news of his brother's death while prosecuting the siege of Avranches. The summons was brought by the friar, who had confessed the murdered man. Francis certainly died in the summer of that same year, but apparently more than two months after the murder.

APPENDIX C

THEORIES RESPECTING ANTICHRIST

IT would be difficult to sum these up more succinctly than is done by Professor JOWETT in his essay *On the Man of Sin*, appended to his commentary on the Epistles to the Thessalonians.

"Whether the prophecy of the man of sin is fulfilled or unfulfilled,—whether it is to be explained from the immediate circle of the Apostle's life, or from the distant future,—whether it relates to an individual or to an idea, to the Pharisees or the Gnostics,—whether 'the man of sin' be Nero as Chrysostom imagined, or the impersonation of heresy, as Theodoret and others, or the pope as the reformers, or the reformers as the pope, or Mahomet as the Greek Church, or the Emperor Caligula as Grotius, or Titus as Wetstein, or Simon Magus as Hammond, or Simon the son of Gioras as Usteri and Le Clerc, or Cromwell as Englishmen who were his subjects sometimes said,

or the French revolution, or Napoleon as the last generation, or some embodiment or power of evil which is yet to come, as was the opinion of several of the Fathers, and is also that of some modern writers ; — whether 'that which letteth, and he which letteth, and will let until he be taken out of the way,' is the Roman Empire, which was likewise a common opinion of the Fathers, or the German Empire, as was maintained by the early opponents of the papacy, or the purpose of God that the Gospel should be first preached, as was held by Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret, or the outpouring of spiritual gifts as Chrysostom inclined to think, or Nero as Wetstein, or Vitellius, who was proconsul of Judea in Caligula's time, as Grotius, or Elijah the prophet, who 'must first come' according to the Jewish belief, or St. Paul himself, as a recent interpreter ;—whether the temple of God is the Christian Church, or the temple at Jerusalem, or both, or neither, that is to say some temple hereafter to be built, or the temple of the human soul, a figure which the Apostle elsewhere employs ;—whether the coming of Christ be His coming to judge the world at the last day, or the anticipation of that judgment on the Jews in the destruction of Jerusalem, or the one the lesser, the other the greater fulfilment of the same prediction ;—are some of the principal questions which in ancient or modern times have been raised by interpreters respecting the second

chapter of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians."

Dr. NEWMAN, in his Essay on the *Patristic Idea of Antichrist*,[1] following in the steps of the Fathers, as the title of his essay indicates,—"for, to say the least, they are as likely to be right as commentators now,"—endeavours to arrive at reasonable conclusions with regard to some of the questions stated in the paragraph just quoted; e. g. that Antichrist has not yet come, that ὁ κατέχων is probably the power of Rome, that Antichrist is probably an individual, that a great apostasy will precede Antichrist, that he will have a religion and will institute a great and terrible persecution, &c. &c. This is not at all the place to discuss these questions. Besides the great work of MALVENDA[2] cited in the text there is an inexhaustible amount of literature on the subject extending almost from the Apostolic age down to our own time. Confessedly very incomplete lists of writers best worth consulting on the subject will be found in SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible*, articles 'Antichrist' (in the Appendix), 'Daniel,' and 'Revelation.'

[1] *Discourses and Arguments*, London, 1872.
[2] *De Antichristo*, Rome, 1604.

APPENDIX D

MERLIN

ONE of the most elaborate works on Merlin is that by Thomas Heywood in the time of Charles I. *The Life of Merlin surnamed Ambrosius, His Prophesies and Predictions Interpreted; and their truth made good by our English Annalls.*[1] London, 1641. Heywood gives a good many of these pretended prophecies; which are very probably his own composition in many cases, if not in all. They fit known history with marvellous exactness, and go no further than Heywood's own day. There is not the vaguest attempt at predicting what is to come to pass in England or elsewhere, either during or after the reign of Charles I.

One or two specimens of Heywood's attempts may be worth quoting, e.g. of Edward III., the Black Prince, and Richard II., we have the following:—

> "A numerous issue shall his Lionesse bring,
> Black shall the first be, and though never King,

[1] The book is to a very great extent a summary of English History, with these pretended prophecies scattered up and down it.

Yet shall he Kings captive, but ere mature,
Die shall this brave Whelp of a Calenture,
And then behind him shall he leave a kid
To undoe all both sire and grandsire did.
Sport shall the young kid in his youth, and play,
'Gainst whom shall rise the Hedg-hog and the Gray:
And then the hobnayle and the clowted shoone,
Shall the kid's glory, strive to eclipse at noone:
But by a Daulphin (of the city lov'd)
That black disastrous cloud shall be remov'd."

By the Daulphin, Heywood explains, is meant William Walworth, "who was free of the Fishmongers, and they give the Daulphin in their Escutchion." To oppose Richard III.,—"a hunchback'd monster, who with teeth is born,"—

"From forreigne parts, a native Whelp shall land
Who shall the long divided blood unite,
By joyning of the Red Rose with the white."

Henry VIII., we are told,

"From the sceptarchy (sic) of Hils,
That Europe aws, and triple-crown, that fills
The Christian world with terror, takes the power
And brings it home unto his British bower:
Blunting the horns of all the Bashan Buls,
And rooting from the Land the razord skuls."

Which good work was all to be undone again, for—

"Then shall the masculine Scepter cease to sway,
And to a Spinster, the whole Land obey,
Who to the Papall Monarchy shall restore
All that the Phœnix had fetcht thence before,
Then shall come in the faggot and the stake,
And they of convert bodies bonfires make."

* * * * *

"Men shall her short unprosperous Reign deplore
By losse at sea, and damage on the shore:
Whose heart being dissected, you in it
May in large characters find Calice writ."

From which it appears that Heywood was a good Protestant, and Merlin a very great Prophet indeed. Heywood says that the prophecy about the hempe was among the many assigned to Merlin at that time, but the version, which he gives, is very differently worded from that given by Bacon,[1]—

> "When hempe is ripe and ready to pull,
> Then Englishman beware thy skull."

And although the "great feare, that some troubles might have rose about the Crowne," after Elizabeth's death, was not fulfilled, "yet proved this "augury true, though not according to the former "expectation or imagination; for after his (James') "happy and peaceable proclamation and Inaugura- "tion, there was great mortality, not in London "only, but through the whole Kingdome, from "which the Nation was not quite clean in seven "yeeres after."

Heywood thinks that Merlin was certainly a Christian, but is in doubt as to whether the spirit by which he prophesied was devilish or divine. He considers the story of his miraculous birth not incredible, but inclines to the opinion that the Prophet's mother invented the story, in order to save a human father from punishment and herself from shame. Of Merlin's end he tells us nothing.

It seems to be impossible to settle, and almost

[1] See page 11.

futile to discuss, how far Merlin the Prophet and Magician is, or is not, identical with Merddhin the Bard; and whether there ever existed a real personage corresponding to either name. The former is the reputed author of many prophecies, the worker of many miracles, who at last fell a victim to the wiles of "lissome Vivien." The latter is the reputed author of a poem called *Afallenau* or *the Apple-trees*, who fought under King Arthur against the Saxons, and after their victory fled in a frenzy of grief into the woods. The *Afallenau*[1] is printed in the Myvyrian *Archæology of Wales* (London, 1801, vol. I.), and defended as genuine by TURNER in his *Vindications of the genuineness of the ancient British Poems of Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch-Hen, and Merddhin* (London, 1803).

The literature on the subject is considerable. Besides the works already mentioned, there are also quoted, a French translation of his prophecies, attributed by Barbier to Robert de Borron, Paris, Ant. Verard, 1498; the same, Paris, Phil. Lenoir, 1528; an Italian translation, Venice, 1480; the same, Florence, 1495; a Spanish translation, Burgos, 1498; *Vie de Merlin de Geoffroy de Monmouth*, by F. MICHEL and J. WRIGHT, Paris, 1838; *Contes populaires des anciens Bretons*, by VILLEMARQUÉ, Paris, 1842; *Les Romans de la Table*

[1] Together with five other pieces, viz.: To Yscolan, Merddin's Oracles from his Grave, Invocation to Pigs, Dialogue between Merddin and his Sister, and the Impulses.

ronde, by VILLEMARQUÉ, Paris, 1860; *The Literature of the Kymry*, by T. STEPHENS, Llandovery, 1849; *Programma de Merlino Britannico*, by FREYTAG, Nuremberg, 1737; *Geschichte des Zauberers Merlin*, by F. VON SCHLEGEL, Leipsic, 1804; *Die Arthursage*, by SAN-MARTE, Leipsic, 1842; *Sagenkreise des Mittelalters*, by GRASSE, Dresden, 1842.

Merlin, although the first and greatest, is not the only name on the list of British Prophets. There is Peter Wakefielde of Pontefract, a Yorkshire hermit, who was put forward by the Clergy[1] to prophesy that King John would cease to reign on Ascension Day next following, viz. 1211, the thirteenth year from his coronation. The prediction caused much excitement, and other prophecies were invented and fathered on Peter. John waited till the day was past, and then, as Peter had nothing better to say than that the Pope reigned and not John (the King was then under excommunication), John had the Prophet hung as a troubler of the public peace, "and his sonne also with him, least any more false prophetes should aryse of that race."

Then there is Mother Shipton, in the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII., who is said to have foretold the suppression of the monasteries, the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn, the fires of Smith-

[1] So says RICHARD GRAFTON, in his *Chronicle at large and meere History of the affayres of England*. 1569, p. 106.

field, and the execution of Mary of Scots. Her epitaph, as reported, ran thus:—

> "Here lies she who never lied;
> Whose skill often has been tried,
> Her prophecies shall still survive,
> And ever keep her name alive."

Robert Nixon, the Cheshire idiot, was a contemporary of hers. He appears to have been conscious of the Battle of Bosworth and its results at the time of its occurrence, although far away from the spot. Henry VII. heard of this and sent for him. Nixon was very unwilling to go, saying he should be *clammed*, starved to death. He was treated kindly; but on one occasion, to save him from the jeers of the servants, he was locked up, and forgotten for three days. He was found lying on the floor dead of starvation.

Further particulars will be found in Charles Mackay's *Memoirs of extraordinary Popular Delusions* (vol. i., pp. 168–203, London, 1841), from which some of the above has been taken.

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